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"Christianity - and this is its fairest merit - subdued
to a certain extent the brutal warrior-ardour of the Germans,
but it could not entirely quench it and when the cross,
that restraining talisman, falls to pieces, then will break forth again
the ferocity of the old combatants, the frantic berserker rage,
whereof Northern poets have said and sung so much.
The talisman has become rotten, and the day will come
when it will pitifully crumble into dust.
The old stone gods will then arise from the forgotten ruins
and wipe from their eyes the dust of centuries,
and Thor with his giant hammer will arise again,
and he will shatter the Gothic cathedrals.
When ye hear the trampling of feet and the clashing of arms,
ye neighbours' children, ye French, be on your guard...
German thunder is of true German character:
it is not very nimble, and rumbles along somewhat slowly.
But come it will, and when ye hear a crashing
such as never before has been heard in the world's history,
then know that at last the German thunderbolt has fallen."

Heinrich Heine,1835
German poet
of Jewish descent
(1797 - 1856).

University of Alberta

Anti-Nazi Sentiments in *Carmina Burana*: Carl Orff's Subtle Political Subversion

by

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This essay is dedicated to the six million Jews, gypsies,

handicapped and mentally retarded patients,

political prisoners, religious dissidents,

and homosexual men and women

who perished in the Nazi

concentration

camps.

We Shall Not Forget.

Abstract

This essay examines the socio-political context in which Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* was composed. After a summary of the history of the anti-Semitism of National Socialism and specifically its culturally repressive policies, the study provides background information on Carl Orff and his relationship with the Nazi authorities. The paper proceeds with a historical summary of the medieval source of Carl Orff's text, and includes a brief overview of *Carmina Burana* (a movement-by-movement chart analysis of *Carmina Burana* is also attached as an Appendix). Documentation of the Nazi reception to Orff's most famous work is also provided. The thesis of the essay is to examine the possibility that Orff, as one-quarter Jewish and living under the repressive system of Nazi Germany, may have surreptitiously included anti-Nazi sentiments in *Carmina Burana* in the overall musical structure, in his specific choice of texts, and in his setting thereof.

Foreword

Ever since I first heard *Carmina Burana*, I have been fascinated perhaps not so much by the work itself as by the spell that it weaved on me. Who can forget the ribald rhythms and hypnotic phrases, the barbarous percussion section and hysterical singing that so memorably characterizes this work? How can angry repeated clashes of noise - drums, cymbals, seemingly anything the percussionists can get their hands on - translate into one of the greatest choral masterpieces of the twentieth century? Despite it being composed almost seventy years ago, this piece has maintained its appeal for audiences in the twenty-first century. Somehow, it still seems to me to be on the cutting edge.

It was when I first performed this work (with Pro Coro Canada, January 2002) that I had the question which stimulated this paper. I was aware of its origins in mid-thirties Germany, and remember saying that "it doesn't take a rocket scientist[1] to know what was going on in Germany in the 1930's." Why then is rarely any mention made of Orff's relationship with the Nazis by his biographers? He had to have had one: those who didn't explicitly comply were largely executed, if they didn't emigrate first. National Socialism, one of the most totalitarian governments the world has ever known, demanded response; when confronted with them you could hardly remain neutral. With Nazism, you had to be either for or against; there was no middle ground. What then was Orff's response? And why was it so little known?

In singing the work I had discovered various words in the nonsense lyrics that aroused my curiosity. For example, what does the "*nazaza!*" of movement #20 mean, and is it coincidence that this non-German speaker found the word to closely resemble

"Nazi?" What about the "*Wafna*!" of movement #13 ("*Ego sum abbas*") which, preceded by a fortissimo bass crash, reminded me of a bomb exploding and sounded to me similar to the German "*Luftwaffe*?" Was it possible that Orff was somewhat prescient of the horrible war that was just around the corner, or that he was (consciously or not) including a warning about what was about to come within months of *Carmina Burana's* debut? (And if so, to whom?) Or does this "manic depressive" music (moving instantly and unpredictably from soothing pianissimo lullabies to furious fortissimo crashes) merely represent the tumultuous emotions of the era and context in which it was composed? Or, how would you tell the difference?

In doing further personal research for that production I became aware of some of the literary allusions made by the Latin to elements that could be considered subversive by a totalitarian Nazi government. Many of these will be discussed in the final section of this paper. One would have to be extremely circumspect in including such elements, as by the time *Carmina Burana* was composed, life was quickly becoming unsustainable for those who did not publicly adhere to Nazi tenets. Thus it would be expected that, if there were such an element of subversion included in *Carmina Burana*, it would have to be well hidden. I thus began to entertain ideas of Orff surreptitiously including anti-Nazi statements in the music of *Carmina Burana*, and started considering how Orff's specific choice of lyrics, his overall musical structure, and his setting of the Latin (and German) texts might be interpreted as having an anti-Nazi element subversively residing therein. It was this thought process that further piqued my interest in the work and in the end provided the impetus for researching and writing this paper.

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[1] keeping in mind that both rocket scientists and *Carmina Burana* have similar origins: both had their genesis in 1930's Germany.

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Introduction

There are very few opening choruses that are as immediately recognizable as that of Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*. *Carmina Burana* seems to be a part of that rare breed of compositions for which its popularity has not diminished since it was first performed; indeed, Orff's masterpiece has attained the rare rank of superstar status on par with Handel's *Messiah* and Mozart's *Requiem*. Another measure of its popular appeal is that it still finds its way into soundtracks for Hollywood movies such as "Excalibur," Oliver Stone's "The Doors," and "The Messenger," not to mention countless movie trailers and commercial advertisements.

This popularity, however, has not saved it from suspicion and disparagement of the authorities. Indeed, *Carmina Burana* has been much maligned and misunderstood throughout its sixty-five year history. Geneva professor of English and Comparative Literature, George Steiner, suggested in 1998 that "*Carmina Burana* is fascist trash, and can be shown to be so in musical terms."[2] Sydney musicologist Richard Toop would seem to agree: "it is almost impossible to [further] debase an overblown, crude piece of music from a Nazi sympathizer with a taste for smutty lyrics."[3] And other respected scholars such as Albrecht Reithmüller in Berlin and Richard Taruskin in Berkley, have admitted that they find *Carmina Burana* to be "quintessentially Nazi." However, rare is the musicologist who is willing (or able) to point out just exactly how *Carmina Burana* merits such classification, beyond the general ostinato rhythms, melodic economy, and rudimentary diatonicism that were generally a part of the Nazi aesthetic.[4] How does all

[2] Quoted by Michael H. Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits" (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 113.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 128.

that accord with the fact that a Communist, incarcerated by the Nazis, declared in 1946 that "once in the concentration camp, I heard *Carmina Burana*. After that, I felt better for several days."?[5]

So just what is this fascist/communist/Nazi/anti-Nazi piece of trash/choral masterpiece? This paper addresses this topic by placing the study within the socio-political context in which Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana* was composed. The paper is organized from the macro to the micro level, starting with the general society (Part I), then looking at the individual composer (Part II), progressing to the specific composition in question (Part III), and finally concluding with an examination of the potentially political underlay of the text included in *Carmina Burana* (Part IV).

More specifically, Part I outlines the socio-political context in which *Carmina Burana* was composed in two ways. First, because Orff was one-quarter Jewish, the anti-Semitist policies of the Nazi regime will be summarized; however, the fact that the Nazis were Anti-Semites (to understate the case) being common knowledge, this information is reviewed briefly in chart form and given without commentary. In addition, as the main topic of this essay is *Carmina Burana* which premièred in 1937, information is only given slightly beyond that date. Second, since the Nazis viewed German culture as highly important and music as perhaps the most important aspect of that culture, a look at the cultural policies of the Third Reich is in order. Both of these areas would have significantly impacted Orff while he was composing *Carmina Burana*.

Part II is also subdivided into two parts, both dealing with the composer: after giving a brief biography of Carl Orff, including an overview of his major works, the second part will then address Carl Orff's tenuous relationship with the Nazi authorities.

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[5] Ibid., 114.

Part III is devoted to Orff's *Carmina Burana*: after giving some background on the medieval source of the texts, the paper proceeds with introducing Orff's composition, including details surrounding the Nazi reception to this work. After a general discussion of the music of *Carmina Burana*, a chart will be provided summarizing the format of Orff's opus, as space does not permit a detailed discussion of each movement.

It is not until Part IV that the paper will address the assertion that Orff may have surreptitiously included anti-Nazi sentiments in *Carmina Burana*. As obviously this could not be done overtly, one needs to remember that we might be looking for very subtle clues. The paper posits that Orff may have embedded anti-Nazi political sentiments (consciously or subconsciously) into the music and texts of *Carmina Burana* in three distinct ways: in the overall musical structure, by his specific choice of texts, and by his musical setting thereof. One should also consider texts contained in the *Carmina Burana* manuscript that, for whatever reason, were not selected by Orff for inclusion in his secular cantata. In the interests of academic honesty, evidence against the thesis of this paper is included in Appendix E.

It may seem like a lengthy process in which to engage, but if one is to challenge the dominant interpretation of a supremely well-known choral masterpiece one does not want to do it lightly. If it is true that Orff included even one anti-Nazi element in *Carmina Burana*, this might have ramifications for his post-war reputation, as he was later accused of being a Nazi collaborator - somewhat surprising, given that he was one-quarter Jewish. However, even if Orff did not include subversive political sentiments in *Carmina Burana*, the process of gaining greater insight into one of the greatest choral masterpieces of the twentieth century is still rewarding.

Part I: The Socio-political Context

"It is not enough

for people to be more or less

reconciled to our regime,

to be persuaded to adopt a

neutral attitude towards us;

rather we want to work on people

until they have capitulated to us,

until they grasp ideologically

that what is happening in Germany today

not only must be accepted

but also can be accepted."

Joseph Goebbels

March 1933

Chart 1.1: The History of Nazi Anti-Semitism: A Brief Overview

N.B. Definitions of all the German terms and abbreviations used in this work are provided in Appendix A.

January 30, 1933	Adolf Hitler assumes control of the German government.
March 1933	Brownshirts rampage, assaulting Jews and ransacking shops.
April 1, 1933	Nazi officials organize a national boycott for Jewish businesses and professionals. Customers not observing the Nazi edict are harassed by SS troopers outside Jewish shops.
April 4, 1933	Jews are barred from all areas of public service.
April 1933	Public burning of books either written by Jews or thought to contain Jewish ideas are held.
April 1933	The Chancellor decrees that the local state legislatures (*Landtage*) need not be consulted by local state officials in issuing legislation.
July 14, 1933	Laws proclaiming the Nazis as Germany's sole political party and proscribing penalties to anyone who attempts to organize other political parties are passed.
September 1933	Jews are legally prohibited from inheriting land.
February 1934	A Labour Conference organized by the Jewish Labour Committee is held in New York to try to drum up support for a boycott of German goods.
January 30, 1934	The *Landtage* are abolished altogether.
June 30, 1934: The Night of Long Knives	Hitler has Ernst Röhm, head of the SA, arrested and executed along with many other SA leaders. This consolidates Hitler's unparalleled hold over the army of Germany.
August 1934	The positions of Chancellor and President were combined into one: "Führer," a title which Hitler immediately assumed and by which he would henceforth be known.
August 15, 1935	16,000 people attend a Nazi conference in the Berlin Palace of Sport, intended to showcase Nazi strength and boost morale. SS officers sing songs with such lyrics as "When Jew blood spurts from under the knife, things will be twice as good as before."
September 15, 1935	The Nuremburg Statutes effectively remove the German citizenship of all non-Aryans: Jews can no longer vote, appeal court decisions or criminal convictions, or obtain passports. Henceforth intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles is prohibited as well as sexual relations outside of marriage. Further, Jews are forbidden to fly the German flag and are also restricted from using public parks.

August 1936: Olympic Games in Berlin	With the subsequent departure of the many foreign athletes, spectators, and journalists, a major obstacle to the continued harassment of domestic Jews is removed and the intensification of anti-Jewish regulations recommences in earnest.
July 6-15, 1938	President Roosevelt calls the Evian Conference to propose that the Western democracies relax their restrictions against the immigration of Jews and other refugees, but not one of the 32 countries present, including the United States, changes their policies.
November 7, 1938	Ernst vom Rath, the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris is shot by a 17-year-old Jew, Herschel Grynszpan.
Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass), November 9-10 1938	Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the SD, orders the SS, the SD, and the police force to burn all synagogues in Germany and Austria, and to destroy Jewish stores. Within hours, more than 175 synagogues are burned or demolished, and 7,500 Jewish-owned stores are looted or destroyed. Windows in Jewish shops in every German city are broken and the streets covered with broken glass (hence the name). In one night, 91 Jews are murdered, and 20,000 more thrown into concentration camps. In the aftermath, Hermann Goering decides that the Jews should pay for the damage they provoked, and fines them one billion marks. To effect these reparations, most personal assets of Jews are confiscated by the State. November 9 was also a Nazi holiday to commemorate Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, but one wonders if after 1938 it did not stoke other remembrances in Nazi minds as well.

Music under the Nazi Regime

Hitler had long recognized the central importance that music would have to take in the creation and control of a supremely patriotic German culture.

> Music possessed vast propagandistic potential through which the collective mood of the subjects could be controlled; it also could be used to dress up important nationalistic incentives for presentation to the public, and it could serve as a vehicle for various regime messages and slogans.[6]

Thus, the arts - and particularly music - occupied a central position in the ideology and propaganda of National Socialism. Among the first acts of the Nazi government was to investigate ways in which it could centrally control the production of German culture.[7]

Thus, the administration of all aspects of culture quickly became the sole responsibility of the Nazi government. On September 22, 1933, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels created the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK), or the "Reich Chamber of Culture." This mammoth organization, subdivided into areas responsible for music, theatre, the visual arts, literature, film, radio, and the press, would quickly come to dominate German cultural life until the fall of the Third Reich. Membership in the respective chamber was required (by law as of November 1 of that year) of all artists.[8] Known primarily for its purging and *entjüdung* ("de-Jewification") practices, the RKK would resort "to monetary fines, professional bans, and even concentration camps when it

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[6] Michael H. Kater, "The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich" (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 130. The 12 years of Hitler's reign noted an increase in dedications to the Führer - 58 such compositions in 1933 alone, for example - but Hitler viewed this as political opportunism and in 1935 banned the practice. Kater, p. 13, and Spotts, 276.

[7] The Nazis had long been associated with an anti-progressive musical stance even before they came to power. In 1929 Nazi Party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg had organized the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kulture* ("Combat League for German Culture," or KfdK), which aimed to "rescue German culture from pornography, Bolshevism, international Jewry, and the 'gutter press' - all symbolized by Bauhaus art... and modernist (or atonal) music." (Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 14) A distinctly reactionary force, the Nazis would eventually insist on complete control over the entire German musical establishment.

[8] "Artists" were defined as "those who participate in the creation, reproduction, intellectual or technical processing, dissemination, preservation, and [/or] sale of cultural goods."

became necessary to discipline wayward artists,"[9] but was also responsible for the promotion of a distinctly German aesthetic through the awarding of grants, prizes and titles to those artists who were in accordance with the RKK's new artistic vision.

Once established, the RKK division responsible for music, the *Reichmusikkammer* (RMK) immediately asserted its authority in all areas of music administration, protecting authentic German musicians from those with inadequate musical training, and those from other countries, including Austria.[10] Control officers regularly visited coffeehouses, restaurants, and even funerals to verify the RMK credentials of anyone performing, thereby ensuring that amateurs were not taking away precious few jobs away from the certified professionals;[11] musicians found performing illegally were apt to be arrested on the spot.[12] Examination committees were set up to screen out unqualified amateurs from the ranks of professionals. "Within a relatively short time, the *Reichsmusikkammer* managed to set wages for professional musicians, regulate certification and restrict amateurs from performing for money, introduce examinations and training courses for private music instructors, and establish an old age pension plan for artists."[13]

Had its mission been restricted to only the above areas of responsibility, history might have ultimately viewed the RKK as a more positive influence on German culture. However, the mission of the RKK was explicitly a two-pronged one, entailing both the "promotion of creative and productive forces" and the "eradication of unworthy and

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[9] Steinweis, 2.
[10] An Austrian quartet was refused employment in Germany even despite the fact that its members were National Socialists; this was before the *Anschluss* of March 12 and 13, 1938. Steinweis, 85.
[11] Ibid., 87.
[12] Extant reports decry illicit harmonica recitals performed before an audience of 12. Ibid, 88.
[13] Pamela M. Potter, s.v "Nazism," The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 17, p. 722.

dangerous elements."[14] The latter was taken to mean the necessary expurgation of foreign and, particularly, Jewish elements from German culture. "By requiring proof of Aryan lineage for membership, [the RMK] also served to exclude Jews from taking part in German musical life.[15]

It was as early as June of 1933 that the RKK announced that it would no longer accept applications for membership from non-Aryans, and although non-Aryans already members would not be expelled, this reprieve only lasted until 1935. "Non-Aryans" were defined in April 1933 as anyone descended from a Jewish parent or grandparent; a more refined system of classification would follow in 1935. That year, the RKK collected and compiled information regarding the ancestry of every member; non-Aryans were summarily expelled.[16] In 1936 the RKK published a 379-page list of 2,202 non-Aryans who had been expelled:[17] Goebbels triumphantly declared on November 15, 1935 the RKK to be "*judenrien*" (free of Jews): "there is no Jew active in the cultural life of our people."[18]

All of these unemployed Jewish musicians had to be dealt with somehow, however, and Nazi authorities ingeniously came up with an innocuous diversion for them. Soon after the creation of the RKK, a parallel Jewish organization was created: The Jewish Culture League in Germany (*Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland*), a centralized

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[14] Steinweis, 103.
[15] Pamela M. Potter, s.v "Nazism," The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 17, p. 722.
[16] One often wonders what happened to those who simply did not fill out the required forms, or lied about their Jewish ancestry while doing so. History provides us with unpleasant answers: Felix Simmenauer, a full Jew, simply didn't submit the required documents, and was not discovered until 1936, but was promptly expelled at that point: "Manfred Kropf, a theatrical music director in Stettin, managed to evade detection for much longer. Kropf, a full Jew, used forged ancestry documents to fool both the Music Chamber and the Gestapo until 1943." However, when his ruse was discovered, Kropf was immediately dispatched to Auschwitz, where his file in the Berlin Document Center shows that he died on January 29, 1944. Steinweis, 110.
[17] 1, 738 full Jews, 413 half-Jews, 48 quarter Jews, and 3 Aryans with Jewish spouses. Ibid., 71 and 111.
[18] Ibid., 111.

organization under Nazi administration. Formed in October of 1933, this Jewish Chamber employed only Jewish musicians. Additionally, the Jewish *Kulturbund* was permitted to play only Jewish music, and was forbidden to play other Aryan music lest it be somehow tainted through Jewish performance.[19] Thus we note the early division of music into two camps: Jewish and Aryan, the dividing line over which neither musicians nor compositions were intended to cross. The playing of Beethoven specifically was proscribed to Jewish *Kulturbund* musicians as early as 1936, shortly after the inception of the Nuremburg race laws;[20] Mozart and Handel would follow in 1938.[21] The purging of Jewish music even went so far as to affect the Christian churches, who were required to discontinue the use of certain hymns.[22] Ironically, the music of Schoenberg, according to Hitler's regime the epitome of "Jewish" culture, was no more popular amongst Jewish musicians and audiences than it was elsewhere.[23] The *Kulturbund* also at times proved useful in maintaining German control: when Wilhelm Gustloff, the German Nazi representative in Switzerland, was murdered by a Jew in early 1936, the entire *Kulturbund* was temporarily shut down by Goebbels as a form of reprisal.[24]

While Goebbels had trumpeted the success of the RKK in eliminating Jewish influences from German cultural life as early as 1935, they were still free to attend performances and exhibitions as members of the general public. Hitler found this repugnant, and in November 1937 sought to legally ban Jews from most cultural

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[19] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 102ff. Interestingly enough, this did not prevent the SS from personally using the instruments that would be confiscated from the *Kulturbund* in 1941. Ibid., 103.
[20] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 101.
[21] Steinweis, 122.
[22] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 163.
[23] Ibid., 101.
[24] Michael Kater, "Jewish Musicians in the Third Reich: A Tale of Tragedy" in F. C Decoste and Bernard Schwartz, eds., "The Holocaust's Ghost: Writings on Art, Politics, Law, and Education" (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2000), 77-8.

establishments.[25] Jews in violation of this law were subject to arrest and imprisonment. The RKK threatened with expulsion any member - concert managers, cinema operators, etc - who failed to enforce this ban. A year later (immediately after *Kristallnacht*) Goebbels issued a further directive banning Jews from theatres, cinemas, concerts, lectures, exhibitions, dance performances, circuses, and cabarets (though this was not easily enforcable until 1941, when every Jew was required to wear a yellow badge). At this point musical events began to be clearly marked with the sign "No entry to Jews," with tickets carrying the same admonition. Finally, even the production of recordings by Jewish musicians was officially banned on April 1, 1938.[26]

In September 1935 a blacklist of works composed by Jews and foreigners was issued. The list of works that "in no circumstance was to be performed" included 108 pieces by 99 different composers.[27] Musicians whose names appeared on this list included such luminaries as Meyerbeer, Offenbach, Mendelssohn, Milhaud, Mahler, Krenek, Stravinsky, Hindemith Bartok, Shostokovitch, Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Gershwin, and Berlin, all of whose music was indiscriminately proscribed by the Nazis.

Understandably, the growing proscriptions on Jewish musicians made it difficult to continue making an income in Germany, prompting many of those who could to emigrate. The list of well-known Jewish-German musicians of the time who emigrated is of notable length: conductors Fritz Kreisler, Simon Goldberg, Otto Klemperer, Bruno

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[25] Steinweis, 115.

[26] Interestingly enough, preventing Jews from contributing to the cultural development of Germany did not preclude Jewish musicians from contributing to the economic development of Germany. 115 expelled non-Aryan composers were allowed to retain their membership documents in order to ensure that foreign royalties generated by their compositions continued to flow into STAGMA [*Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte*], the German mechanism for musical copyright collection and distribution. The prohibition to perform these same compositions within Germany's borders was not reconsidered by Nazi censors. Steinweis, 112

[27] Spotts, 276.

Walter, Erwin Stein, Berthold Goldschmidt, and Franz von Hoesslin, composers Kurt Weill, Stefan Wolpe, Hermann Scherchen, Paul Frankenburger, Egon Wellesz, and Ernst Toch, violinists Jani Szanto, Nikolai Graudan and Arnold Rosé, contralto Sabine Kalter, soprano Hilde Güden, pianists Leonid Kreutzer and Arthur Schnabel, to name but a few of the more prominent personalities.[28] Schoenberg too, despite his full-German (and non-Jewish) status left the country in 1933 within weeks of Hitler's ascent to power. Kater enumerates no less than 465 musicians who emigrated from Germany and Austria during the Hitler period to the United States alone, most of them Jewish.[29]

The long-term cultural cost of losing so many talented and dedicated performers is impossible to measure. However, the Nazis believed that there was proportionally too great a preponderance of Jews in the arts in Germany: according to the 1925 census Jews, constituted 0.9% of Germany's population yet accounted for 12.3% of the writers, 10.9% of theatre and film directors, and 2.2% of professional musicians. "This… provided anti-Semites with a factual foundation upon which the myth of Jewish cultural dominance could be erected. The Nazi's own ideological blinders led them to overestimate the cultural influence of what they saw as a Jewish conspiracy and therefore to regard the removal of Jews from cultural life as all the more urgent."[30]

Not only were Jews removed from all aspects of cultural life, but anyone associated or collaborating with Jews was apt to be removed as well. In July 1935 Richard Strauss was dismissed as head of the composers division of the RKK for his insistence on using Stefan Zweig, an Austrian Jewish novelist, as the librettist for his

[28] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 88-96; also 112-116.
[29] Ibid., 108.
[30] Steinweis, 104.

newest opera, *Der Schweigsame Frau.* Freidrich Mahling, editor of *Musik im Zeitbewussstein,* an official RKK publication, was fired for hiring a non-Aryan assistant on the grounds of "cultural-political unreliability." Gustav Havemann lost his job at the RKK for defending the music of Paul Hindemith in 1934.[31] Composer Ernst Krenek, and conductors Eric Kleiber and Herman Scherchen[32] were also harassed by the Nazis. Fritz Busch, conductor of the Dresden Opera, had his rehearsals disrupted by the SA because of his open opposition to the Nazis. Disingenuously, the Nazis seized this opportunity to ban his future performances "for the good of the public order."[33] Wilhelm Furtwängler, conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic and the Berlin State Opera since 1922, lost both his posts due to his refusal to toe the party line and disassociate with Jewish musicians.[34] Despite his pure Aryan bloodlines, Alban Berg also had numerous unfortunate run-ins with the Nazi authorities due to his opera *Lulu*, which was considered by the Nazis to be "degenerate art" because of its "risqué plot involving a femme fatale, a sex-crazed physician, a lesbian countess, and Jack the Ripper."[35]

Besides the removal of Jewish musicians currently working the musical field, Nazi authorities also strove to eliminate the Jewish influence from works written by previous generations of musicians. This meant the reworking of many texts in the standard repertory that were all of a sudden rendered politically problematic by virtue of their content or Jewish authorship.[36] For example, Mozart's *Il Nozze de Figaro* was suspect because its librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte, was Jewish, and consequently the opera

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 119ff.
[33] Levi, 42.
[34] He would later conduct the ensemble again for the Third Reich, but his relationship with the Nazi regime and specifically Hitler himself was always tenuous at best. Spotts, 290-6.
[35] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 124.
[36] Pamela M. Potter, sv. "Nazism," The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 17, p. 722.

had to be re-written, subject to Nazi censors, to ensure its sufficient 'Aryanization'.[37] Verdi's *Nabucco* stood no such chance, and was condemned as unredeemable. Oratorios (such as those by full-blooded Germans Handel and Bach) presented a problem inasmuch as they presented material from Jewish history; however, some of these issues could be surmounted, as was the case with Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* which was reissued under the title *Commander* since it fit the war effort so well.[38] In some cases, the zeal of Nazi censors verged on the extreme: some insisted on altering the lyrics to Mozart's *Requiem* so that "*Deus in Sion*" became "*Deus in coelis*," for example.[39]

Given music's central position in German cultural identity, it is not surprising that the Nazis would attempt to assert unilateral control over so fundamental a societal force; even before they were in power they had subsidized the creation of a National Socialist Reich Symphony Orchestra (1931). What is surprising, however, is the speed at which they moved to do so, illustrative of the gravity they gave the issue. William Shirer has pointed out that "one of the most remarkable aspects of Hitler's assumption of power was how quickly he began to intervene in the arts.... Despite a number of other pressing matters, his first artistic reforms came just over a month after his appointment as Chancellor."[40] Other authors have pointed out instances where artistic and cultural concerns took on a strange priority for Hitler:[41]

> Of all the arts, music aroused Hitler's deepest anxiety during the years when he was scrabbling for power. In his speeches during the 1920's he spoke over and over of cultural decline, and it was usually contemporary music that he had most in mind. Because music meant so much to him, his heart ached at its parlous

[37] Similar difficulties, although to an inexplicably lesser degree, existed for both of Mozart's other da Ponte operas as well: *Don Giovanni* and *Cosi fan tutti*. Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 86-7 and Levi, 75.
[38] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 87; also 102.
[39] Spotts, 274.
[40] Shirer West, "The Visual Arts in Germany, 1890 - 1937: Utopia and Despair" (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 183.
[41] Spotts, 12, 291-2.

> state. It was, he felt, thoroughly corrupted and wholly symptomatic of a sick society.[42]

Hitler saw the artistic degeneration paralleling the country's social and political decay: purging the former perhaps could redeem the latter, he hoped.[43]

In 1938 Goebbels declared that German music and Jewry are opposites,[44] yet the Nazis were not able to conclusively define the differences between the two. One step towards that goal, however, was the attempt to identify the Jewish elements in music and to consequently label such as degenerate. This, however, was to prove quite difficult. Kater's discussion of the topic merits reproduction at length:

> Stereotypically, German music was equated with traditional values of the perceived national culture: heroism and love of battle (as in the Reformation) in sixteenth-century chorales, Handel, or Beethoven; profundity in Brahms, as also found in Kant, Hegel, or Schopenhauer; after great tension a resolution and the Faustian drive to creation, apparent in composers such as Bach, Mozart, and Schumann; introspection of the kind found in Reger (or the late Biedermeier period); and rootedness in "blood and soil," as evidenced by Schubert's lieder, the works of Bruckner, and the humble but honest *Volkslied*, judged to be endemically German. Quintessential elements of Occidental music were the triad, the tonal system, and the specifically "Aryan" rhythm as marked by the succession of weak and strong beat accentuations and the syncopations of Bach and Brahms.... All of Occidental music was *ipso facto* German, having originated in northern European, Germanic lands...
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> After generous references to Richard Wagner and Alfred Rosenberg, and for lack of authentic criteria, Jewish music was conveniently defined as everything that German music was not.... Underlying the Nazis' constructs was the thesis that Jewish musicians, especially composers, could not bring forth anything original because they lacked an indigenous culture.... In imitation, however, Jews were said to be masters, often showing off a superior technique to cover up a lack of substance. But this exterior brilliance, while attractive, could lead to a mannered style and overall superficiality, betraying the triviality of the music as it was being performed. Hence, Mendelssohn was often charged with infusing his compositions with a saccharine flavour, notorious in his melodic lines. Works such as his *Ein Sommernachtstraum* were suspect because of their shallow, "eel-like smoothness."

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[42] Ibid., 267.
[43] Ibid., 268.
[44] Quoted by Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 75-6.

Plagiarism was also said to be common, for example, that Mendelssohn and Mahler copied Schubert, Schoenberg copied Brahms… [etc.]. In a Jewish composer's music, genuine feeling of the German kind was said to degenerate into banal sentimentality (again Mendelssohn was the chief culprit here). Thematic repetitions would be mechanical and tediously monotonous, not redolent of deep emotion and executed in meaningful curves of ascent and descent as in "Aryan" German music. Even worse, sentimentality could engender a whining femininity, quite the opposite of the heroic quality of Beethoven's "Eroica" Symphony for example. All told, the Oriental origin of such music, with something of the "Negroid" thrown in as well, was allegedly recognizable….

Three Jewish composers gave the Nazi musicologists particular trouble, for their works were already internationally acknowledged as being embedded in the admired German musical tradition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These composers were Mendelssohn, Mahler, and Schoenberg. The kindest judgment about them by well-intentioned "Aryans" was that qualitatively their music could not be distinguished from that of contemporary national worthies, so that their works were the equal of acceptable Gentile ones in every respect. Such judgments irked the Nazis, and hence they rationalized the inferiority of these three composers in particular ways. The works of all three were said to have acquired a German veneer for two reasons: first, because at the early stage of their careers these composers really wanted to be German instead of Jewish; and second, because as very clever Jews they had mastered almost to perfection the technique of insinuating themselves into an alien culture. Almost, but not quite: a very well-trained ear could discern the difference between them and the work of true-blooded Germans. Yet such a refined ear was not possessed by ordinary citizens of the Reich. Therefore, it behooved the Nazi musicologists to engage in *volkisch* enlightenment….

But how to demonstrate all this to the average German music lover? Some of these arguments were voiced, in a scholarly setting, by Germany's leading musicologists, such as Karl Hasse, Ludwig Schiedermair, Friedrich Blume, and Gotthold Frotscher, on the occasion of an exhibition called "Degenerate Music," held in May 1938 in Düsseldorf. Organized by Hans Severus Ziegler… it was based on the notorious exhibition of defamed art presented in the Munich *Haus der Kunst* by Goebbels a year before…. In his official address Ziegler agreed with leading musicologists and administrators of German culture that "atonality is the result of the destruction of tonality and hence represents degeneracy and artistic Bolshevism. Moreover, since atonality forms the basis for the harmonic system of the Jew Arnold Schoenberg, it has to be specified as a product of Jewish thought." Individual audio-booths enabled visitors to listen to samples of the "degenerate music." Indeed, some of these booths were mobbed by eager German listeners, especially the one featuring music from Weill's *Dreigroschenoper*, a stark comment on the effectiveness of the musicologists' propaganda.[45]

[45] Ibid., 76-9.

This Nazi exposition of Degenerate Music (*Entartete Musik)* was a logical continuation of thought for the earlier Nazi exhibition of Degenerate Art, held in Munich from July to November 1937. "If attendance numbers are taken as evidence, the exhibition proved to be a monstrous success. Over two million people attended it, and then it toured throughout Germany as a banner to the death of the avant-garde."[46]

Other Nazi attempts to educate the public on the thorough infiltration by Jews of the German musical establishment would prove to be equally fruitless. Theodor Fritsch's *Handbuch der Judenfrage* was the first of several books attempting to identify Jewish-tainted musicians, but his publication was so riddled with errors (identifying as Jewish, for example, the Irishman Arthur Sullivan) that even later revised editions were still unreliable.[47] The Nazi party themselves tried to issue a somewhat more authoritative *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* in 1940, but even this publication, relying heavily on Nazi party documents available at the time, had some notable omissions.[48]

Finally, in any discussion of music in Nazi Germany, one must always keep in mind where many of these gifted Jewish musicians ultimately ended up:

> Music was an organized activity in the concentration camps as well, where ensembles of inmates were used for daily activities to entertain SS troops with waltzes, lieder and symphonies, as well as to torture and humiliate inmates, serve as a background for gruelling labour and drown out screams during executions. The number of promising musicians who perished in the camps is impossible to enumerate.[49]

As it turns out, one can view the RKK as a cultural precursor to the more drastic societal measures of the Final Solution. "The distinction between 'worthy' and

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[46] West, 190.
[47] Levi, 64.
[48] Ibid., 66.
[49] although Kater makes an admirable attempt to name the more famous ones. Kater, "The Twisted Muse, 99-105. This quotation is taken from Pamela M. Potter, s.v "Nazism," *The* New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 17, p. 724.

'unworthy' forms of life that the Nazi regime applied in the biological sphere had its cultural counterpart in the differentiation between 'racially pure' (*arteigene*) and 'alien' (*artfremde*) art and artists."[50] The policies of the RMK were thus essentially a form of cultural eugenics.[51] However, when viewed through the lens of history, "Nazi culture… had no lasting impact on [German] culture."[52] Despite their concerted attempts for over a decade, the Nazis would be disappointed to know that their best efforts did not have any noticeable permanent effect on German music or culture.

[50] Steinweis, 103.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Lee, 38.

Part II: Carl Off: The Composer

"As National Socialism barbarism took over in 1933,

it was deeply disappointing that the intellectual elite,

instead of opposing,

one by one

collaborated with National Socialism....

Everyone who places his talents and his name

at the disposal of National Socialism

has brought guilt upon himself."

The Munich Denazification court, 1947

Carl Orff: A Brief Biography

Carl Orff was born in Munich, Germany, on July 10, 1895 to a family of army officers and avid music lovers. In a way, he would eventually follow both of these paths: wounded at the front after being drafted into the army in 1917, he then decided to pursue a musical career. For this he had shown a remarkable aptitude: he had studied piano, cello, and organ since the age of five, and had already seen a collection of his vocal compositions published in 1911. This was a considerable achievement for one who had never studied music theory: Orff was largely an autodidact. He studied at the Academy of Music in Munich, earning respect as a conductor, and graduated from there in 1914.

After working during the Great War years as a vocal coach and conductor in various German theatres[53], he began a period of intensive study with Heinrich Kaminski in 1920. In 1925 he helped found the Gunther School of Music where he taught for the next 11 years, during which time he developed the ideas that he would later publish in his famous five-volume work, *Schulwerk.* In this book of educational philosophy, Orff contended that children should begin their musical education during their first year of school, and that this training should begin with the elements of rhythm rather than melody, since rhythm is even more fundamental to music than pitch. His approach[54] was so successful that he gained national and international recognition for his contributions to music education. His method was adopted by such renowned musical institutions as the Mozarteum in Salzburg and the Conservatory in Vienna.

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[53] namely, the Münchner Kammerspiele, the Mannheim Nationaltheater and the Damstadt Landestheater. K. H. Ruppel, "Carl Orff: A Report in Words and Pictures" (Mainz: B. Schotts Sohne, 1955), 8.

[54] One should point out, however, that Orff was not the only person involved in the formulation of this school of thought, which can be misleading as that is what its name would imply. Dorothee Gunter's founding contributions should not be forgotten. "Orff is not the originator of the basic doctrine on which... [the Schulewerk was] founded, but he was the first to give it practical form and organize it into a systematic teaching method." Andreas Liesse, "Carl Orff" (London: Calder and Boyars, 1966), 58.

> What the Orff approach provides... is a bridge between the earliest, spontaneous musical expression of a child and the time when he is ready to undertake the study of a musical instrument.... Orff, by meeting the child on his [or her] own ground, permits him [or her] to use rhythms and melodies that he [or she] grasps readily - in fact, material that he [or she] often creates - and provides him [or her] with easily played instruments of beautiful timbre, such as small xylophones, metalaphones, and glockenspiels, creating a comfortable musical framework in which spontaneity and fantasy can flourish.[55]

Orff's breakthrough as a composer came with the first performance of *Carmina Burana* in 1937 (see below); this composition established his reputation as a composer of international stature and eventually become synonymous with his name. But before examining *Carmina Burana* in more detail, it may be beneficial to be able to put this work more in context by understanding how it relates to other major works by Carl Orff. In 1953 *Carmina Burana* became the first section of a tripartite set of scenic cantatas entitled *Trionfi*, whose other members are the *Catulli Carmina* and the *Trionfi di Afrodite*. The second of the triptych, known in English as the *Songs of Catullus*, is based on the poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus (84-54 BCE) and chronicles his unrequited love for the married woman Lesbia. Catullus' poetry is set almost entirely for *a cappella* chorus; only the prelude and postlude require accompaniment (four pianos and percussion). This experimental instrumentation heralded a new musical direction for Orff, as his future work went on to explore the "timbral possibilities of percussion instruments that would [eventually] lead Orff to abandon the traditional orchestra."[56] *Catulli Carmina* debuted in Leipzig in 1943, presumably to the approval of the Nazi censors.

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[55] Harris Danziger, quoted by David Ewen, ed., "Composers Since 1900: A Biographical and Critical Guide" (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1969), s.v. "Orff, Carl," 395. Ellipse in the original.
[56] Alberto Fassone, s.v "Carl Orff", The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 18, p. 560.

The third work of the set, *Trionfi di Afrodite* (The Triumph of Aphrodite) received its première under the baton of Herbert von Karajan at La Scala in Milan in February 13, 1953. This work, which describes a wedding ceremony, uses texts from Catullus and other Roman poets such as Sappho and Euripedes. In all three works of the tryptich *Trionfi*, rhythm is central to the musical interest: "repetition of notes, chords, and phrases contribute elemental power."[57]

Other significant compositions by Orff include the operettas *Der Mond* (The Moon, composed 1936-8) and *Die Kluge* (The Wise Woman, composed 1941-2), both based on fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm. *Der Mond* is actually "a combination of oratorio, varsity show, and lyric drama: thus it has something for everybody. Throughout, it alternates dance-hall tunes, statuesque arias, beerstube ballads and even concludes with a nursery air."[58] Perhaps this eclectic fusion is not surprising, since it debuted in Munich in February of 1939: Orff would need something that would have universal appeal.

Another operetta by Orff also uses medieval texts. Entitled *Die Bernauerin*, the libretto uses spoken dialog in a medieval Bavarian dialect to advance the plot. This work was the first of Orff's to debut in post-war Germany (June 1947). Shortly thereafter Orff also wrote another musical play entitled *Antigonae*, based on Sophocles (August 1949).

This brief overview of Orff's *oeuvre* reveals that the majority of his work was composed specifically for the stage. Indeed, with the exception of some vocal

[57] Ewen, 396.
[58] Ewen, 397.

compositions and a smattering of instrumental works, this is in fact the case. One of Orff's major biographers, Andreas Liess,[59] goes so far as to say that Orff's life-work can be divided into two simple categories: stage-work and school-work (meaning didactic, not adolescent).[60] This artificial birfurcation of Orff's *oeuvre* into educational vs. entertaining does not stand up to closer academic scrutiny, however, since many of his works fit both categories. Liess himself acknowledges that this is an oversimplification: "the whole of Orff's work is, in the widest sense of the term, theatrical."[61]

After WWII, Orff remained in Germany, travelling rarely and in fact never straying far from his birthplace. He headed the composition department at the *Hochschule für Musik* in Munich from 1950 until his retirement in 1960. During this time he was recognized with many awards: in 1956 he became a member of the order *Pour le Mérite* for science and art; and in 1959 he received an honourary doctorate from the University of Tübingen. Since retiring he was presented with a second honourary doctorate from the University of Munich in 1972, and in that same year he was also awarded the *Grosses Verdienstkreuz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.* Later, the Katholische Akademie of Bavaria bestowed on him the Guardini Prize (1974).[62] The final decade of Orff's life (1972–81) was dedicated to the publication of his eight-volume autobiography, *Carl Orff und sein Werk: Dokumentation* (Tutzing, 1975–83). Carl Orff died on March 29, 1982, at the age of 86, in Gräfelfing, very near his birthplace of Munich.

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[59] He is in fact one of the only other biographers of Carl Orff, besides Orff himself (see bibliography).
[60] Liesse, 57.
[61] Ibid., 63.
[62] Alberto Fassone, s.v "Carl Orff", The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 18, p. 560.

Carl Orff and the Nazis

"There is probably no modern German composer whose life and career, especially after the Nazi takeover, have been as shrouded in mystery or confusion as his."[63] To what extent Carl Orff was a Nazi collaborator, or on the complete opposite side of the spectrum, a member of the Nazi resistance movement, has been the subject of much debate. The shroud of mystery with which Orff seemingly intentionally surrounded himself has lead to two opposing theories of his Nazi complicity, "one claiming that if he was not a direct victim of the Nazis [he was at worst] seriously wronged by them and at best tolerated. The other maintains that not only was Orff a collaborator of the Nazis and himself a bona fide National Socialist but his music too was symptomatic, particularly of Nazi ideology."[64] When Kater rhetorically asks in the opening of his chapter on Orff, "Who was Carl Orff? Who was Carl Orff in the Third Reich?",[65] one suspects he is subtly implying that the two questions may indeed have different answers.

For his part, Orff himself claimed that he was more beholden to the idea of a European commonality rather than the more narrow-minded German nationalism;[66] he contended that, for example, his use of Latin in *Carmina Burana* manifested this conviction. Orff's second wife, Gertrude has offered that Orff was always a "conscious anti-Nazi."[67] Musicologists have also come to Orff's reputational aid: Carl Dahlhaus in 1982 "forbade anyone ever to doubt Orff's political or moral integrity."[68] But Michael Kater, one of Canada's (if not the world's) foremost authorities on music in Nazi

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[63] Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 111.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid, 111-2.
[67] Ibid, 112.
[68] Ibid.

Germany, does not necessarily agree. "There is evidence, or, rather, the suspicious lack of it, to suggest that the composer's anti-Nazi record may not have been as sterling as his protagonists have maintained."[69]

On the one hand, there is evidence to indicate that Orff, while not quite a collaborator, was at least an opportunist. He pushed hard for his Schulwerk to be used in the musical instruction of the Hitler Youth, although he was unsuccessful in the end. More incriminating is the fact that he complied with Nazi requests to replace the Jewish music of Mendelssohn for *Ein Sommernachtstraum*. Critics make much of Orff's agreement to provide alternate music for "A Mid-summernight's Dream," but Orff's motives for this do not necessarily indicate anti-semitism or Nazi complicity, but perhaps more so artistic arrogance coupled with financial need. He had accepted subsidies from the Nazi government to tour to Paris with a dance ensemble from the Gunther School both before and after France's occupation,[70] and in 1942 the RMK gave him a large financial award, but what artist could afford to turn down money and recognition, especially in those difficult times? That Orff was to some extent a Nazi favourite is evident from the special treatment he received: even when other musicians were being drafted in Germany's desperate final mobilization, he was explicitly exempted from military service, although his age of 50 at the time would have assisted this request of his. Furthermore, it is all too likely that Orff, the apolitical musician at best if not an anti-Nazi, would have done everything possible to avoid becoming a Nazi soldier. Goebbels

[69] Ibid.
[70] Michael Meyer, "The Politics of Music in the Third Reich" (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993), 200.

at one point labelled Orff as one of the most promising talents of the Reich and hoped he would help lead a genuine cultural revolution.[71]

Other evidence of Orff's complicity also stems mostly from his financial situation. "After the start of the Nazi regime, as Orff's regular activities as conductor and composer were somewhat in limbo, pending a clarification of his relationship to the new powers that be, Orff turned increasingly to the Schulwerk both as a source of income and as a means to adapt to the new rulers."[72] Income was particularly important, because until he began to be internationally recognized in the 1940's, Orff was often "notoriously" short of money.[73] Orff always tried to be financially independent, but often subsisted only on his publisher's advances.[74] Finances aside, Orff did have the opportunity to emigrate to the US in 1938, with the help of his former student Nevill Jenkins, but he refused, arguing that he was too deeply rooted in Bavarian soil and knew no English.[75] If not quite collaboration, critics would later use this as proof of at least his toleration of the Nazis: however, this can also be interpreted as love for one's native country despite whatever current government is in power. Is there room to consider Orff as a loyal German citizen as opposed to an avid Nazi? It must be remembered that to the Nazis there was no such distinction in the 1930's - loyal German citizens and Nazis were one and the same. Today we might view Orff's emotional loyalties to his country as superseding those that he felt for its government.

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[71] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 192.
[72] Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 120.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 10.
[75] Ibid., 192.

On the other hand, Orff's "collaboration" was obviously never whole-hearted. He never got along with Rosenberg's *Kampfbund* in the early 1930's:[76] this could have been for ideological or political differences. "When a Nazi friend... wrote him months after the caesura of January that it would be in his best interests, including professional ones, to adopt 'the great Hitler principles,' Orff ignored him." Privately, Orff would even mock the Nazis, though rarely.[77] One had to be extremely circumspect in one's satire, as you never could completely trust even your friends in a totalitarian state. When the Nazis assumed control of the Bach-Verein in 1933, Orff agreed to honour his conducting commitments only until the fall of 1934 and thereafter had nothing to do with the group;[78] however this could be viewed as being for more musical control issues than political ones. It is more correct to say he was truly apolitical: "politically, he tended towards indifference, but [Berthold] Brecht's revolutionary stance impressed him."[79] Brecht's opposition must have left an indelible impression on Orff, as years later, after the war, he was to contend that he too had been a member of the Nazi resistance movement:

> Orff claimed to have been persecuted by Nazi authorities because of the "un-German" character of his compositions and his sympathy with Jews. Moreover, early in 1946 he told a U.S. intelligence officer... that he had been a founding member of the "White Rose," a political resistance group.... Based on this testimony, and without further ado, the Americans consigned Orff to the "gray-acceptable" category of suspected Nazis and allowed his just-finished opera, *Die Bernauerin*, to be premiered in Stuttgart in June 1947, starring his own daughter Godela in the title role.[80]

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[76] Ibid., 22.
[77] Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 119.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 191.
[80] Ibid. Kater's exposition of this event is much more detailed in his later publication: Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 133-9.

This story, however, was a fabrication, perpetuated by the opportunist Orff in an attempt to maintain his post-war musical standing and resume a more normal life. While there had been a group called the White Rose which included several of Orff's close friends, he was never a part of it himself and certainly never a founding member.[81] It was a difficult time to be a composer: before 1945 you could not make any career progress without working with the Nazi party, while immediately after that date any associations you had had with the Nazis were suspect and grounds for your work to be banned by the Americans (the occupiers of Bavaria, where Orff lived).

There is further evidence of Orff's apathy to Germany's governing party. In May 1942 Orff was subject to an official investigation by Nazi party authorities who were suspicious of the fact that his name was "celebrated by ideological enemies of the regime."[82] The personnel office was not able to document anything of concern to the Nazis, except to mention that Orff had not yet become an official party member.

Thus, even the SS found Orff's personal politics hard to pin down. While he is on record as having vilified Hindemith and Schoenberg, it is likely that these comments reflected his genuine musical preferences and not a racist predilection. Orff had musical friends who were admitted Nazis,[83] but he also had musical friends who were Jews;[84] apparently he did not see a contradiction in retaining both. Before the Nazi takeover he was considering staging a production of Kurt Weill's opera *Die Bürgschaft* and he had already set to music poems by the Marxist Berthold Brecht. Thus Orff seems to vacillate

[81] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 191.
[82] Meyer, 200.
[83] E.g. Cesar Bresgen - Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 144.
[84] E.g. Karl Solomon, Mannheim composer Maz Sinzheimer, and Frankfurt composer Matyas Seiber. Ibid., 191 and Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 118.

between the left and right, never being content to settle or commit to any one thing;[85] if not apolitical, he was at the least politically peripatetic. It seems likely that he truly wanted nothing to do with politics whatsoever and would have preferred simply to be left alone to compose his music and conduct his life in the manner he wished. The overriding principle of Orff's life would certainly be music, not politics: he was willing to do whatever had to be done in order for that end to be achieved. That Orff's primary objection to the Nazi government may have been musical/administrative rather than moral is difficult to understand, but a possibility which must be considered.

> Whereas it is clear that in the Weimar Republic Orff was never a dyed-in-the-wool leftist, it is equally clear from all the evidence available that he thoroughly disliked most of the things that National Socialism and the Third Reich came to stand for, before and after Hitler's takeover, and that he never joined the Nazi party. The crudities and banalities of the Nazis, expressed, not least, through their cultural ambitions, were anathema to Orff's arcane sense of aesthetics and his perception of an artists' role.[86]

Is it possible that Orff's ambivalence was due to the fact that one could not maintain open opposition to the Nazis and live? Could Orff's apoliticism be interpreted more as a sign of his tacit disagreement with the Nazi party? Or, is it possible that Orff was quietly trying to conceal his partly-Jewish ancestry from the Nazi authorities?

From all outside appearances, Carl Orff was a true German. His name was German, he was born in Germany, and the only language he ever learned to speak was German. However, beneath this fully-German exterior Orff kept a particularly scary skeleton in the closet: his maternal grandmother was Jewish. According to the Nuremburg Race Statutes of 1935, that qualified Orff as one quarter Jewish, and while exceptions were sometimes made, quarter Jews generally received the same treatment as

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[85] If it is not inappropriate to suggest so, his four wives might be an indication of the same phenomenon.
[86] Ibid, 119.

full Jews.[87] Orff would therefore have had every reason to fear discovery by the Nazis, and to not ever trust them completely. Orff somehow, and no one knows how,[88] seems to have successfully concealed his Jewish heritage from the Nazi authorities.

In the end, the final judgement about Orff's complicity with the Nazis is still ambiguous. Even Michael Kater, having examined this issue extensively in both of his recent publications, can still only answer inconclusively: "In the case of Knappertsbusch, Krauss, Karajan, and Schwarzkopf, it is possible to draw up a sort of balance sheet indicating both pluses and minuses. If these areas are viewed in combination, one discerns many shades of gray rather than black and white, a pattern that seems to have been typical of the majority of musical artists in the Third Reich."[89] To this rule, Orff would certainly seem to be no exception.

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[87] One quarter was considered the cut-off point: being less Jewish than that, as in one eighth or presumably even three sixteenths, did not make one Jewish in Nazi eyes. The ratios were determined, with no small amount of difficulty or error, based on assessments and documents of one's grandparents.

[88] "I am still not sure how he managed, for any German had to prove his four grandparents were 'Aryan,' with the help of church records, going back to 1850 (SS aspirants back to 1800). How he got around that, I really do not know." Michael H. Kater, personal email correspondence, May 12, 2003.

[89] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 63.

Part III: *Carmina Burana*: The Composition

I am prepared, so conscience not upbraid,

For Fortune, whatsoe'er she purpose next.

Not new to these ears is such boding made.

Therefore let Fortune turn her wheel to accord

With her own pleasure, and the boor his spade.

Canto XV:92-6

Inferno*, from *The Divine Comedy

By Dante Alighieri (1265-1341)

Translated from the Italian by Lawrence Binyon

Carmina Burana: The Medieval Document

In 1803, upon the secularization of the Benediktbeuern monastery (founded in 733 CE, located about 50 km south of present-day Munich), a manuscript was discovered in the library of the Benedictine abbey. Compiled between 1225 and 1230,[90] this manuscript contains the most comprehensive collection of medieval poetry found to date: over half of the 228 poems contained within are not found anywhere else. The collection was first made available to the general public in 1847 when the scholar Johann Andreas Schmeller published a complete edition of the poems under the title "Carmina Burana," or "songs from beuern (burana in Latin)," the name by which it has since been known.

It is surprising that this manuscript, so integral to modern-day scholars' understanding of medieval poetry, was not included in the library's catalog. One reason proposed for this stems from its contents, as several of the poems are secular and many border on the obscene. "The love poems in the Goliardic tradition are invariably carnal. There is not a trace in these lyrics of the troubadour or courtly love convention. Woman was not conceived of as a far-away princess to be worshipped, but as an object of desire to be attained."[91]

Just as in Orff's later setting, the poems are organized by subject: satirical songs, love songs, songs in praise of eating, drinking, and gambling, Goliard poetry and religious plays. This is not to imply, however, that these poems were authored by the

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[90] There was some scholarly dissention as to the precise origin of the *Codex Buranus*: Otto Schuman, contended that it dates from the late 12th century, pointing to the old-fashioned neumes dotting the manuscript, but others reply that this can be explained adequately by the remoteness of the region. More recent publications, however, have stated that "the dating of Carmina Burana is no longer controversial and, in practice, all recent scholars put its compilation around 1225/30." Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, "Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World: Twelfth Century Ethical poetics and the Satirical Poetry of the *Carmina Burana*" (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995), p. 15.

[91] George F. Whicher, The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires (New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1949), 161.

same individual. On the contrary, common practice of the time was to group poems according to their theme regardless of author, privileging the meaning of the text.

Such poems extolling the virtues of food, drink, and women could only be written by the Goliards – essentially, vagrant scholars. The invention of the university had created a relative surplus of educated men without employment, who often lived transient lives, moving from town to town and living off of their wits. When one begs for a living the intelligent person realizes that people are more apt to give you food (and perhaps particularly drink) if you have made them laugh. Thus it was by the Goliards that these poems praising the virtues of winning, wining, and womanizing were created: these themes appeal to the most basic pleasures of human life, as uneducated peasants were the Goliards' intended audience.

While retaining their appeal for the lower classes, the poems of *Carmina Burana* are certainly not devoid of intellectuality. Such intellectuality provides further evidence that the poems of the *Codex Buranus* were indeed composed by the wandering Goliardic poets. Helen Waddell, one of the leading authorities on medieval Latin verse, finds that the poems of the *Carmina Burana* are "the poetry of an aristocracy of privilege."[92] Other scholars note the academic style of allusion and parody, found only amongst educated poets: "*In Taberna Quando Sumus*, for all its Breugel-like realism, manages to include lines that parody a hymn by St. Thomas Aquinas."[93] Philip Picket proposes that `the turning of Biblical phrases to secular may have been the unconscious result of the poets' almost exclusively ecclesiastical education,"[94] but the Goliardic tendency to flagrantly

[92] Helen Waddell, "The Wandering Scholars" (London: Constable and Company, Ltd, 1966), p. 228.
[93] Whicher, 221.
[94] Phillip Picket, CD liner notes Volume II.

satirize and mock the institutional church for its excesses and wrongdoings also suggests that many of the allusions and parodies are quite intentional.

Another particularly interesting fact about the Carmina Burana codex is that all of the poems contained therein were intended to be set to music, as is evident by the inclusion of undiastematic neumes (staffless musical notation) throughout the manuscript. However, this grand project was only completed for about 43 of the poems. The music of these poems provides scholars with an almost unparalleled view into the folk music of the 13th century, and recently has been reconstructed into modern notation as recordings have been made (see bibliography).[95] The set of texts that Orff chose to set are unrelated to the group of poems for which medieval neumes have survived: in other words, Orff chose his poems by what texts he felt most suitable rather than by which poems had or did not have medieval notation. Twenty-two of the twenty-four poems set by Orff were not set in the original, and for the two remaining poems Orff's setting is unrelated to the medieval songs of the same text.[96] In fact, it is likely that Orff was unaware that the original music still existed for the poems, as the neumes were predictably not included with Schmeller's 1847 publication.[97]

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[95] Since neumes do no not represent exact pitch level but only the rise and fall of the melody as well as approximate intervallic relations between pitches, some estimations had to be made. However, by checking various concordances with other contemporary manuscripts which used other notational methods (elsewhere, the practice of using neumes generally fell out of practice before the Carmina Burana codex was compiled), the transcription of these ancient songs to modern notation can be believed to be accurate. Other manuscripts, such as those found at St. Martial and Notre Dame, provide polyphonic versions of the monophonic melodies, or music for poems which are without neumes in the *Codex Buranus*. Phillip Picket, CD liner notes Volume I; also Thomas B. Payne, s.v "Carmina Burana", The New Grove Dictionary of Music, ed. L. Macy, v. 5, p. 157-8.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Liesse, 83.

Carmina Burana: The Secular Cantata

When Orff came across Schmeller's publication in 1935, he was so impressed by the poems that he almost immediately began setting some of them to music.[98] In the end, he selected 24 of the 228 poems to put to music, and gave his compilation the same title that Schmeller used: *Carmina Burana*. Carl Orff was obviously very pleased with his work, as he was later to write to his publishers what has now become perhaps his most famous quotation: "Everything I have written to date, and which you have, unfortunately, printed, can be destroyed. With *Carmina Burana* my collected works begin."[99]

As originally conceived by Orff, *Carmina Burana* is not a work that can be done with small forces. In addition to soprano, tenor, and baritone soloists, small male chorus, large choir, small choir, and children's choir, a full orchestra is required: 3 flutes (2 piccolos), 3 oboes (English horn), 3 clarinets (bass clarinet), 2 bassoons, 1 contra-bassoon, 4 horns, 3 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba (also stier-horn), 5 timpani, celesta, 2 pianos, strings, and a small battalion of percussionists (at least 5 players: 2 side drums, 1 bass drum, hand-bell, triangle, antique cymbal, 2 pairs of cymbals, gong, bass gong, 3 sleigh bells, tubular bells, 3 glockenspiels, 1 xylophone, castanets, and ratchet). Another version with reduced orchestration, for two pianos and percussion, was later made by Orff at the suggestion of his publisher.

That the work was intended for stage production from the beginning is made clear by the subtitle *Cantiones profanae et choris cantandae comitantibus instrumentis atque*

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[98] This was done with some philological assistance from Michel Hoffman, about whom little else is known; Hoffman does not merit mention in Orff's life other than this single act of collaboration.

[99] Kater, intriguingly, contests the veracity of this story, contending it be a post-war myth perpetrated by Orff. At worst, the statement is a bald-faced lie (something Orff was unfortunately not above) designed to highlight Orff's most successful work; at the least it is hyperbole, as Orff certainly continued to revise works he had earlier begun. Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 125 and 139.

imaginibus magicus - "secular songs for soloists and chorus, accompanied by instruments and magic tableaux." However, Orff included no specific stage directions or indications for its interpretation, and seemed content to leave a myriad of possible interpretations up to different productions.[100] However, since the release of a film version, made under the composer's supervision in the early 1950's, interpretations have more or less stabilized.

The first performance of *Carmina Burana* was at the Städtische Bühnen in Frankfurt-am-Main on June 8th, 1937, with Bertil Wetzelsberger conducting. Its first performance outside Germany was at La Scala, Milan on October 10, 1942. Performances in Allied nations would have to wait until after the war: *Carmina Burana* would not be premièred in London until June 11, 1951[101], and in Leningrad until 1960. The work was not known in North America until a recording was released in 1952, but premières soon followed in 1954: San Francisco on October 3 and Boston in November 19. Its popularity was immediate, and arguably has not since waned. Music critics everywhere loved it: "one of the most vivid, picturesque, and richly tuneful choral pieces of modern times;"[102] "one of the most fascinating and delightful choral works that the century has produced;"[103] the New York Music Critics` Circle singled it out as the best choral work of the season. Even today, there is no question that *Carmina Burana* is Orff's best-loved and most frequently-performed composition.

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[100] For example, early performances of *Carmina Burana* were interpreted variously as a cosmological music-drama in Hamburg, an epic of world-theatre in Vienna, a country manor "minnespiel" in Dresden and Stuttgart, a Hessian-Bavarian play in Darmstadt, and an allegorical medieval mystery play in Berlin. CD liner notes for Carl Orff, "Carmina Burana" (Cleveland, Ohio: Telarc Recordings, 1981), Robert Shaw, conductor, CD-80056, p. 4.

[101] although a fully staged production would not be mounted until June 12, 1958

[102] Ewen, 396.

[103] Ibid.

Nazi reaction to Carmina Burana

Unfortunately for Carl Orff, the initial Nazi reaction to *Carmina Burana* was nowhere near as positive as in America - censors reacted to the overt sexuality of the lyrics[104] (and the fact that a children's choir was required to hear it); critics thought the music bold: since although it was not quite atonal, *Carmina Burana* was not adequately grounded in the post-Romantic tradition that the Nazis explicitly preferred.[105] Furthermore, the languages of the text - not only the medieval Latin, but even the low (Bavarian) German - irked the Nazis. Orff had anticipated this objection, so it is interesting to note that he continued to work on this project despite Nazi protestations; moreover, some of his later compositions also utilize texts in Latin or other archaic languages (e.g. Greek). Another reason that *Carmina Burana* was deemed suspect by the Nazis was its emphasis on rhythm, which to Nazi censors seemed to approach if not engender cultural Bolshevism.[106] One Nazi critic blamed Orff for failing to maintain an adequate sense of nationalism and for allowing himself to stoop to incorporating an obvious "foreign emphasis on rhythmic formulae."[107] Obviously, the Nazis expected German music to remain in static development, as anything new was obviously foreign and therefore suspect. "*Carmina Burana* was at first sufficiently idiosyncratic to be suspect in Rosenberg's and even Goebbel's circles, so that Orff, for a while at least, had reason to fear the heavy hand of censorship on anything else he might write in the future."[108] This might help to explain Orff's relatively reduced compositional output

[104] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 192.
[105] Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 123.
[106] Levi, 118.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 190.

immediately following the debut of *Carmina Burana*; it would not pick up again until after the war.

Orff did have some factors working in his favour however: the première was officially produced with the explicit permission of Peter Raabe, head of the RMK. Orff also had some well-placed friends in the Nazi bureaucracy whom he knew would support him if necessary.[109] Fortunately, this support was not needed due to the favourable reception of the première. Orff was later redeemed when Rosenberg's newspaper called *Carmina Burana* "the clear, ardent and disciplined music required for our times."[110] Obviously, then, it is difficult to talk of a monolithic Nazi reaction in the singular when Nazism was comprised of many powerful individuals each struggling to have their views become the dominant ones (music was only one example of Nazi infighting that Hitler had to mediate from time to time). Indeed, while the music at first caused a reaction, Orff's setting may ultimately have been part of its salvation (not to mention its enduring appeal): "The simplicity of Orff's work represented an antidote to the abstract intellectualism which characterized much advanced music of the 1920's."[111] Thus, while not immediately making it apparent, the music may have conformed precisely to what the Nazis were seeking at the time: a new and distinctly German voice in musical composition.

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[109] Such well-placed friends included opera director Hans Meissner, and Munich mayor Fritz Krebs. Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 124.
[110] Quoted by Levi, 118.
[111] Ibid.

Carmina Burana: An Overview

In choosing the poems from Schmeller's publication and deciding their order for his musical setting, Orff elected for a three-part structure for *Carmina Burana* (within these sections, the individual pieces are each performed *attacca*). A movement-by-movement overview of the entire work is provided in Appendix C. But what is it about this music that has such lasting appeal?

> The simplicity and the cunning of the music is most impressive. Orff deliberately discards counterpoint, thematic development and the use of elaborate forms: the choral parts art written in unison, octaves, thirds, and sometimes fifths, the tunes are concise and of popular character and are repeated without variation, sometimes merely transposed into other keys. His writing is tonal, in principal and there is an occasional sprinkling of clashing harmonies. The swinging, vigorous rhythm plays a dominating part in the whole work.[112]

Anyone who has ever heard *Carmina Burana* can immediately tell you that the most dominant feature of Orff's scenic cantata is the opening chorus, and the closing chorus. To be clear, they are one and the same: *Carmina Burana* repeats the entire first movement note-for-note as the last movement, making a literal cycle and implying an endless repetition of events, as if the work is to continue indefinitely.[113]

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[112] K. W. Bartlett, quoted in CD liner notes for Carl Orff "Carmina Burana" (London: EMI Recordings, 1975) conducted by André Previn. CDC 7 474112.

[113] One tends to think of song cycles as vocal compositions, but if the definition of a song cycle is "a group of individually complete songs designed as a unit," then *Carmina Burana* qualifies as well. While the term "song cycle" was not coined until 1865, the genre obviously predated its label by some decades, as many of the most famous vocal song cycles were already composed: Schubert's *Die Schöne Müllerin* dates from 1822, and *Die Winterriese* from 1827; Berlioz's *Les nuits d'été* was written in 1840–41; and Schuman's *Dichterliebe* from 1840 (arguably the bulk of his vocal *oeuvre* lies within the genre of song cycle). Nor are choral song cycles unheard of: e.g. Brahms' *Liebeslieder Waltzer* date from 1867. All that was required was a unifying element, and this could be done in two ways: either textually, with perhaps a central topic (e.g. love or nature) or mood, using the poetry of a single poet, a continuous storyline, or genre, such as a sonnet; or musically, through the use of key relationships, a recurring motif or formal structures. Some composers would use several of the above-mentioned elements to heighten the relationship between songs and to strenthen the listeners' sense of unity. However, while vocal song cycles are commonly found in the solo song repetoire, in the choral *oeuvre* strictly choral song cycles are more rare. Thus in the precise niche of the choral song cycle, *Carmina Burana*'s prominent place is most definitely assured.

However, it is not only the identical opening and closing chorus of *Carmina Burana* that is memorable, but also the music contained in between. All of Orff's melodies are strictly diatonic, and most are very simple in design and highly repetitive. Orff resorts as well to the use of various familiar musical genres, ranging from plainchant (e.g. Nos 3, 5, 13, and 19) and folksong (e.g. Nos. 8 and 10) to flamenco (No. 17) and romantic opera (Nos. 11 and 21).[114] Liesse generalizes that Orff throughout his *oeuvre* tends to set Latin to elegant and natural melodic lines, while German tends to be much more "spiky,"[115] although this distinction does not make itself readily apparent strictly from *Carmina Burana*. He also contends that Orff's setting of medieval Latin in *Carmina Burana* is much harsher than his softer treatment of classical Latin in the later *Catulli Carmina*,[116] but one could also posit that this merely exemplifies the extent to which these musical settings reflect the tumultuous emotions of the era in which each was composed.

The harmonic language of *Carmina Burana* is similarly simple, making no strenuous demands on the ear of the listener and thus remaining more memorable. Contrary to what one might expect, however, it is not purely diatonic but hearkens back to an even earlier age than the chromaticism of Romanticism: "The harmonic idiom used by Orff just manages to elude pure tonality by suspending its gravitational pull through the use of a proto-harmonic language tinged with modal procedures."[117]

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[114] Robin Golding, in CD liner notes for Carl Orff "Carmina Burana" (London: EMI Recordings, 1975) conducted by André Previn. CDC 7 474112.
[115] Liesse, 51.
[116] Ibid., 51-2.
[117] Alberto Fassone, s.v. "Carl Orff", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* ed. L. Macy, v. 18, p. 560.

However, despite Orff's memorable use of harmonic and melodic elements, it is the rhythmic element of *Carmina Burana* which is, in the end, even more predominent. The insistent pounding of the amplified percussion section in Orff's work is likely what most listeners upon first hearing *Carmina Burana* will take away with them. Because of this rhythmic prominence, *Carmina Burana* has been called "primitive," "barbaric," even "neanderthal music." Orff contends that rhythm, as the most basic element of music, is thus the most primal artistic expression in man, and therefore one with which humanity shares an inexplicable spiritual connection or bond. As Orff puts it in his autobiography, "in the beginning was the drum... [and] the drum induces dance..."[118] The primacy he affords to rhythm is also evident in other aphoristic phrases of his: "one cannot teach rhythm, one can only release it."[119] Largely for these stripped-down elemental effects commonly found throughout Orff's *oeuvre*, his work is seen by some as an important forerunner to the modern aesthetic of minimalism.

Finally, another reason why Orff's setting may be so enduring is because of the picturesque setting of text, which intelligent listeners always appreciate. In a general sense, Orff's "primitive" setting very accurately represents what is going on in the text. The acts of eating, drinking, and copulating, while also being hedonistic, are also all required for biological success (continued survival of the self and/or species). These texts represent the most primal urges known to humankind, and thus it can be argued that Orff's setting of these archaic texts is entirely appropriate. It has been pointed out that

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[118] Carl Orff "Carl Orff: Documentation, His Life and Works" (New York: Schott Music Corp., 1978) Vol. 3, 17. Even though *Carmina Burana* was completed about 20 years before writing his autobiographical accounts of the Schulwerk, Orff had obviously remembered something from his work with the Goliard poets about satire of religious subjects.

[119] Ibid.

each of the three interior sections relate to Nature: the first explores man's encounter with Nature awakening in spring, the second man's encounter with Nature's bounty, particularly wine, and the third man's encounter with Love (that is, human nature).[120] It is related to the human cycle of birth/life/death. This sense of universality can also help explain *Carmina Burana's* appeal.

These elements - the overall cyclical musical structure, the memorable melodic, harmonic, and (perhaps especially) rhythmic elements, the universal applicability of the text and the picturesque setting thereof - all work together to make any production of *Carmina Burana* a memorable event. Orff's genius is apparent in that these strong musical constructs do not vie against each other for supremacy but come together to present a unified and cohesive composition. Despite the almost univeral popularity of Orff's *Carmina Burana*, however, interest has not spilled over into other musical works by Carl Orff. Most of Orff's *oeuvre* does not remain in the standard repertory; indeed, *Carmina Burana* is the only work that is well-known and regularly performed.

[120] Ruppel, 10.

Part IV: *Carmina Burana* as Political Subversion:

Anti-Nazi Sentiments in Carl Orff's work

"In the case of Carl Orff

we are not at all dealing

with an atonal talent.

On the contrary,

his *Carmina Burana*

exhibits exquisite beauty..."

Joseph Goebbels, in his diary

entry for September 12, 1944.

The Evidence: Carmina Burana as Anti-Nazi political statement

Having overviewed briefly the music of *Carmina Burana*, it only remains to point out how Orff may have included anti-Nazi sentiments in his most famous opus. That he had motivation to do so is not in question: being one quarter Jewish, Orff had every reason to fear the Nazis and would certainly not have been more of their friend than absolutely necessary. Obviously, Orff was well aware what was going on at the time. Correspondence exists between Orff and other Jewish musicians dating from the time that Orff would have commenced work on *Carmina Burana*: this aids in establishing the composer's state of mind at the time. In May 1933 Orff received a letter from his composer friend Max Sinzheimer in Munich, who already feared the worst: "I have become depressed to the point where I find it difficult to write."[121] Another composer, Erich Katz, wrote Orff in July 1933:

> As far as I am concerned, I don't know what will become of me… I won't be able to stay in Germany… because I have no more business being in this country as a non-member of the people's community (who is said to be lying whenever he writes in German)…. It really just comes down to one thing: the rope.[122]

Even if Orff did not personally identify himself as Jewish, he was still very aware of the potentially fatal secret he kept about his past. Orff thus could have wanted to include anti-Nazi elements in his work not only for the intellectual challenge of doing so (which would have appealed to him in itself) but also to reassert human dignity and victory over adversity. Orff may have feared that he was working on the last composition he would ever write. It seems logical that he may have tried to include well-hidden political sentiments within *Carmina Burana*; he certainly had the motivation and the means.

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[121] Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 92.
[122] Ibid., 103.

The Presentation of the Evidence

Having examined the individual selections of *Carmina Burana*, this section will point out the relevant locations which can be interpreted as having an Anti-Nazi element contained within. It should be stressed that these are unproven assertions: and without wanting to sound too speculative, most will be presented as questions and possibilities rather than as statements of fact.

The first area which deserves consideration is Orff's selection of the *Carmina Burana* as a textual source in the first place. "The texts of Carmina Burana satirize the defects of, besides the church, the State, and there are general complaints about the decline of moral values."[123] This may have fit in precisely with what Orff was feeling about his contemporary situation as well. Although Orff was aware that his selection of a predominantly Latin text would offend the Nazis, he went ahead with his choice regardless. Was this out of blind desire to maintain a vestige of artistic purity and autonomy, or could it have been a subtle intentional slight against the Nazi government?

One cannot forget that Orff chose the 24 poems he wanted to set to music from a potential list of over 200. The lyrics for the 24 poems selected and set by Orff in *Carmina Burana* are included in Appendix B. His reasons for picking the specific poems he did may never be precisely known, but it is interesting to note various potentially anti-Nazi elements contained in the texts that Orff did select. For example, the third movement, "*Veris leta facies*," contains the line "*Zephyrus nectareo spirans in odore*:" "Zephyr breathes nectar-scented breezes;" or, as P. G. Walsh translates it, "The West

[123] Ibid., 82.

Wind approaches, his breath endowed with the fragrance of nectar."[124] It is interesting that it is the wind of the West that is so appealing as it comes closer. It would be anachronistic to assert that this could represent the military forces, as Germany and the West (by which presumably one could mean France, Britain, the United States and Canada, or what were shortly to become known as the Allied nations) were not yet at war; however, this statement could be interpreted ideologically as a subtle reproach against both Fascism (Germany and Italy) and Communism (in the East). While the East/West nomenclature is largely a product of the Cold War, the geographical fact remains that at the time of *Carmina Burana's* composition democracy (and increased artistic freedom) was to be found exclusively to Orff's west. As Orff never lived in any other country other than his German homeland,[125] it is thus particular interesting that he explicitly expresses a desire fir the West to come closer.

A similar example comes from the fifth movement, "*Ecce e gratum.*" This poem contains the line "at Venus' command let us glory and rejoice in being Paris' equals:" another translation puts this line as "Let us be like Paris too!"[126] Naturally the event being alluded to here is the Judgement of Paris, when the son of King Priam of Troy was approached by Aphrodite, Hera, and Athena, who asked him to choose between them who was the most beautiful. The only way to win this particular contest was to choose not to participate, as Zeus in his wisdom had done. Paris, selected Aphrodite as the more

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[124] P. G. Walsh, "Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana," (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1993), 163.

[125] Orff certainly never emigrated from Germany, even despite offers of financial assistance in doing so (Kater, "The Twisted Muse," 192); in fact it seems Orff may have even rarely left Germany at all. Kater has been able to identify only one foreign excursion in all of Orff's, and that only to neighbouring Switzerland: Orff traveled to Zurich to hear Hindemith's premiere of *Mathis der Maler* in May of 1938. Kater, "Composers of the Nazi Era," 42 and 51.

[126] Edwin H. Zeydel, "Vagabond Verse: Secular Latin Poems of the Middle Age" (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), 113.

beautiful, based to some extent on the strength of her bribe: she promised him that the most beautiful woman in the world would be his. Unfortunately the most beautiful woman in the world at the time happened to be Helen, wife of King Menelaus of Sparta, and Paris's abduction of Helen precipitated the Trojan War, during which Paris (with some help from Apollo) would eventually kill the almost-invincible Achilles. However, might there be room for a double entendre with the word Paris here? Could Orff perhaps, in addition to the classical myth, also be alluding to the city of lights? If that were the case then the inclusion of this poem could be interpreted as a call to pacifism, saying in effect that "we are the equals of France." Germany's territorial ambitions were already evident by the time *Carmina Burana* was starting to be composed, as Germany had by 1935 recently demanded (and been acquiesced) the Saar valley, ceded to France from Germany as part of their First World War reparations.

Of the 24 different poems selected by Orff for inclusion in *Carmina Burana*, 20 of them are written from the first-person (either singular or plural) perspective.[127] If these 20 poems are interpreted as having two meanings (one on the strictly literary level and another on Orff's contemporary situation), what ramifications does this have on our understanding of *Carmina Burana*? For example, the first statement in the first person in the text as set by Orff[128] is from the second movement: "I bemoan the wounds of Fortune with weeping eyes." Can this be understood as Orff bemoaning the unlucky circumstances (i.e. worldwide Depression, etc) that enabled the Nazis to come to power in the first place?" The only first-person (plural) reference from movement #3 is "Let us

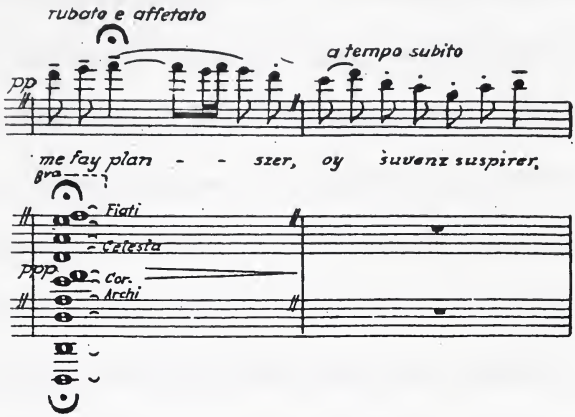
[127] The four that are not (#'s 15, 17, 19, and 24) are written from a neutral narrator-like perspective.
[128] keeping in mind, of course, that Orff's textual order was not the original and reflects his own preference

rush to compete for love's prize;" one could interpret this statement as a general urging towards a more tolerant public policy for the Jews of Germany.

If one interprets the various first-person statements as made by Orff in *Carmina Burana* as statements uttered by him personally and places them into the context of knowing that Orff was one-quarter Jewish, the whole of *Carmina Burana* is suddenly seen in an entirely different light. (Even some of the third person texts apply: take, for example, the girl from movement #15 who, like Orff, keeps a dark secret "hidden in the depth of her heart.") In this reading the line from movement #16, if said by Orff himself, becomes incriminating: "O friends, you are making fun of me, you do not know what you are saying." The closing lines of movement #14 also seem particularly relevant: "we [the Jews] are the ones whom everyone scolds, and thus we are destitute. May those who slander us be cursed and may their names not be written in the book of the righteous."

One wonders to what extent these texts including first-person statements that were selected by Orff represent the way he personally was feeling at the time of *Carmina Burana's* composition. For example, movement #4 includes the lines "Love me faithfully! See how I am faithful: with all my heart and with all my soul..." Orff here contends that he has done no wrong to Germany: on the contrary, he (and, by extension, all other German Jews) has been faithful to his homeland his entire life - no wonder he is feeling "wounded" (movements #2 and #18). Two lines later Orff admits a great pain when he thinks about the direction in which Germany is headed: "Whosoever loves [his country] this much turns on the wheel." Other lines from movement #11 also apply: "The heaviness of my heart seems like a burden to me," as well as "I look for people like me and join the wretches." Both movements #12 and #13 collectively say "Woe is me! The

joys of my life you have taken all away!" We note also the word-painting in movement #16, "*Dies, nox et omnia*:" Orff sets the word "*planzser*" ("weep") on a high A, pushing the extreme of the baritone range:



Example 4.1 Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*, Movement #16, "*Dies, nox et omnia*," bars 10-11.

Is it not possible that Orff's setting here reflects as well the composer's emotions as he wrote it? In this reading Orff would seem to be (rightly) somewhat afraid for his future personal safety: movement #20 includes the line "do not let me die!"

Even if it was not a conscious decision of Orff to include texts with potentially subversive political undertones as an intentional act, these "I-statements" likely would have had particular resonance with Orff during this time on perhaps even subconscious levels (speaking to his unexpressed emotions instead of his intellect) which can help to explain their appeal. In this reading, the love songs of *Carmina Burana* can be interpreted as having a particular contemporary relevance for Orff if one understands them to be an extended metaphor for his relationship as a closeted Jew with his homeland. The part of the female lover is given to the Jews: the German Fatherland

plays the male role.[129] Movement #7 bewails the loss of a lover: "Where is the lover I knew? He has ridden off! Oh! Who will love me? Ah!" Orff, with all other German Jews, feels abandoned by the country of his birth that he loves so much. In movement #9 the female pines "Come, come, my love, I long for you...." Movement #8 has the Jews allegorically hope out loud (in Orff's native Bavarian German, as if to be more enticing and less remote) that they can "make the young men [the Nazis] love me, against their will. Look at me, young men! Let me please you!" The texts take a persuasive and moralistic tone in trying to encourage such behaviour: "Love ennobles your spirit and gives you honour." The same idea is later repeated in movement #11: "whatever Venus commands is a sweet duty." Notice the persistent theme of love, even outside of *Carmina Burana* 's third part: this would certainly seem to contradict George Steiner's claim (quoted in the introduction) that *Carmina Burana* is "fascist trash." Even without this metaphorical understanding, the love and tolerance components to Orff's selected texts completely disqualify *Carmina Burana* as Nazi music!

If one reads females to metaphorically mean Jews in *Carmina Burana*, and statements in the first person to be personally applicable to Orff himself, one comes up with a very different understanding of the text. Take for example the opening lines from movement #16: "Day, night and everything is against me/the chattering of maidens makes me weep/and often sigh/and, most of all, scares me." The maidens' chattering could mean gossiping as Jews ponder aloud their collective fate, or even a literal chattering as they feel left out in the cold by the recent Nazi policies. With this

[129] There are precedents for such allegorical interpretations, the most relevant of which would be the Song of Solomon from the Old Testament. Many contemporary scholars are convinced that the only reason for its inclusion, despite its relatively racy verses, in the biblical canon was due to allegorical interpretation of the love story between God and the country of Israel.

understanding suddenly the whole of *Carmina Burana* (and particularly the *Cours d'Amours* section) becomes an allegory for the love scene that Orff would like to see played out between Germany and Jews. One can read movement #22 ("This is the joyful time") as an expressed hope for the future happy resolution of the couple (Jews and Germans); movement #23 ("Sweetest one") becomes a short aria on the patriotic pride of German Jews (presumably conditional on their being wooed); and movement #24 can now be understood as a hymn of praise to newfound (and steadfast) love between peoples. However, Orff does not leave us on this high note, but instead reminds us that the metaphorical story is not (yet) fact and returns us to reality with a reprise of the opening chorus. He offers an idyllic vision of where he would like to see the romance go, but at the end of the story reminds us that the story has yet to be written; we are still at the first chapter, which is not yet as happy a place.

Additionally, through this reading of the text of *Carmina Burana* Orff has offered us a statement even on his (necessary) complicity with the Nazi authorities. Movement #8 say in the first person, "I will be obedient to you because of the pleasures you afford." Later on, Orff realizes that one must work with them if one is going to survive: movement #21 includes "I … submit my neck to the yoke."

Pursuing this line of thought, let us examine movement #14, "*In taberna quando sumus*." A parody of various prayers was ingeniously set into this seemingly innocuous bawdy drinking song: strophes 3-4 are based on the Good Friday liturgy and 5-6 on the Corpus Christi (Eucharistic) sequence.[130] If, true to the Goliardic tradition, these words were meant to allude to something else, Orff would have viewed his work as being more

[130] Ibid., 286.

mimetic if he were able to include allusions himself and satirize his own contemporary situation.

The movement opens with the words "When we're in the tavern drinking/Of the earth we're far from thinking…:" This could have represented exactly the way Orff was feeling about the world - he wanted to escape from it. What beer or alcohol may represent to the common folk is the same sort of release from daily drudgery that many artists seek to experience through timelessness or transcendence.

The movement continues:

> Listen now to what I speak!
>
> Some will gamble, some carouse,
> Some will live like foolish sows.
> Some, by gamblers' ways deluded,
> Oftentimes are thus denuded,
> Some new garments will receive,
> Others will in sackcloth leave.
> Death these people fear no jot,
> They with Bacchus cast their lot….

Orff obliquely chastises those (and by extension, himself) who do nothing about the world situation but rather drink their life away (or seek solace in art). Some are lucky, some are not, he says, but Fortune takes care of everyone in the end.

> [Let us drink…]
> Once to who in prison fret,
> Thrice[131] to all men living yet

Mass arrests of Jews and the establishment of the concentration camps had not yet commenced at this time, but was just around the corner. However, Jews were already being harassed by those who enforce the law, and as recent non-citizens, would not have

[131] This is not an omission. It is not known where "twice" went, but it is not included in the original poem.

had any recourse for complaint. It is possible that Orff included this poem as a means of expressing his solidarity with all those who were experiencing oppression.

> Fourth, to Christians far and wide,
> Fifth to faithful ones who've died,

The Confessional Church was already in germination by this time; it was comprised of Nazi opponents who did not agree with the approval the Nazi regime was getting from the State church of Germany.[132] It is impossible to know whether Orff was aware of this Confessional Church, or whether he would have sympathized with it, but it is at least possible that he would have considered that particular branch of the church to be the faithful ones, and toasted them.

> Sixth to empty headed daughters
> Seventh to militant marauders

German military spending increased sixteen-fold under the Nazis: from 1.9 billion marks in 1933 to over 32 billion in 1939.[133] This fact is even more staggering if you keep in mind that the 1939 mark was not worth nearly the value of the 1933 mark. While the Nazi armies in 1937 were not yet marauding, Orff may have feared that this is likely where this military build-up was heading[134] and perhaps also thought this policy foolish ("empty-headed").

> Eighth to brotherhoods perverse,

There were rumours floating about in those days (which Orff and likely every gossip-loving German would have heard) about secret initiation rites for the SA and SS.

> Ninth to monks who oft disperse....

---

[132] One of its leaders would be Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who in 1944 died in the concentration camps at the special request of Hitler himself.
[133] Lee, 65.
[134] Keeping in mind Orff's military experience: he fought for Germany in the First World War.

It is possible that Orff thought that here the text referred to the State church which he may have felt had abandoned the truth – and/or the Catholic Church which never stood up against Nazi atrocities despite its knowledge thereof.

Thirteenth - those on travel bent.

130,000 Jews, or 20% of the Jewish population left Germany between 1933 and 1937.

Now to pope and then to King
All drink, never questioning.
.....
...poverty will soon defame us...

Again, the text rebukes those who do not critically engage the world around them, those who are "never questioning," and predicts where the Germans and/or German Jews were headed under the Nazi regime.

Thus we note how in addition to the surface level, almost half of the lines in movement #13 can also be interpreted as having a special relevance to Orff's contemporary situation as well. Other correspondences with Orff's circumstances abound in movement #12 as well: The Song of the Roasted Swan. Perhaps no other movement would as adequately - textually or musically - describe the helplessness that any Jew must have felt living under the Nazis. This movement is a literal swan song[135] that Orff may have feared could have been his own as well, as at the time he did not know for certain whether *Carmina Burana* would be his last musical contribution. Surely Orff's inclusion of this poem was for more than strictly humorous or historical reasons.

Orff's setting of this text reflects the irony implicit in the original poem: while about death on the surface, the text also describes an atmosphere of feasting and joy experienced by the diners. Orff's separation of the verse and refrain illustrates well this

[135] pointed out by Sebesta, 62.

situation: the tenor's wailing lament in a leisurely tempo represents the dying swan, whereas the brisk chorus enacts the impatience of the diners. This is also the first and only time in the entire work that the audience hears the tenor, who enters on a high A. This example of extreme vocal tessitura, frequently sung in falsetto, is set intentionally high to imitate the screams of a dying swan (see example 4.2 on next page).

Orff included only the odd-numbered verses of the five verses in the original poem to set. In so doing, he has consistently selected the verses which have the most applicability to the contemporary situation of Jews in Germany. The lyrics for verses 1, 3, and 5 are provided in Appendix B: compare those with the two verses that Orff choose not to include:

2. *Eram nive candidior*	Far whiter was I than the snow,
Quavis ave formosior,	More fair than any bird I know,
Modo sum corvo nigrior.	But now I'm blacker than a crow.
Miser, miser!	Wretched, wretched!
Modo niger	Now I'm blackened
et ustus fortiter!	and roasting fiercely!
4. *Mallem in aquis vivere*	I'd rather to the lake repair
Nudo simper sub aere,	And always breathe the open air
Quam in hoc mergi pipere.	Then all this spice and pepper bear.
Miser, miser!	Wretched, wretched!
Modo niger	Now I'm blackened
et ustus fortiter!	and roasting fiercely!

If Orff was omitting certain texts merely for the sake of brevity he could have simply set verses 1-3, but he did not: thus this movement is proof at least that Orff was very particular in which specific verses he desired to set to music. Orff had to have had some reason(s) for selecting the verses he did, whether it was musical, poetic, literary/thematic reasons… is it not possible that his reasons could be political as well? The reason verse 2 was omitted may have been to avoid any allegorical admission of guilt for the current

Example 4.2

Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana,*

Movement #12,

"Cignus Ustus Cantat"

measures 8-17

Tenoro Solo
lamentoso(sempre ironico)
1. O - lim la- cus co - lu - eram,
2. Ei - rat, re - gi - rat gar - cifer;
3. Nunc in scu- tel- la ia - ce- o,
o - lim pul- cher ex-
me ro - gus u - rit
el vo - li - ta - re
Ottav.
Es.Clar.
Tr.
consord.
espr. col canto
Tb.
Cfg.
Cb.
90
ti - teram,
for - titer:
ne - queo
dum cig- nus e - go fu - eram.
pro - pi - nat me—— nunc da - pifer,
den - tes frenden - tes vi - de- o:
8va
oro
Mi - ser, mi- ser! mo- do ni - ger el u- stus for- ti- ter!
Troni. col coro
mp
gra

state of affairs. The fourth verse fits into our reading if you interpret it as a desire for more tranquility and "breathing room;" one could also read verse four as a statement of a desire to emigrate, which we know Orff did not do. The reason for its omission could have been the textual tension that comes in the next verse (verse 5, or verse three as set by Orff): "I am no longer fit to fly."

It is interesting that Orff placed these two movements (#11 and 12) about spiritual and physical mortality in direct juxtaposition[136] - potentially a comment on the seriousness of his contemporary situation. Furthermore, the last lines of the previous poem stress the poet's desire to save his skin (see appendix B); but such hope is in vain, as his goose is cooked (literally) in the very next poem.[137] Beyond making excellent literary connections, Orff may have been leaving suggestions of the hopelessness of the situation. Movement #11 contains an allusion to the *Dies Irae* of the Requiem, calling to heaven to be saved from the fires of hell, which seem to be very real, at least for the swan. If the swan represents at all how Orff was feeling in general at the time of composing *Carmina Burana*, or how Orff was trying to allegorically represent the plight of Jewish people in Germany, then the inclusion of this poem and the selection of its three verses can be interpreted as a desperate plea for help.

Another possible political allusion - albeit the most speculative one - comes from movement #13, "*Ego Sum Abbas.*" This movement contains the obscure word "*wafna*," which comes from the Middle High German *Wâfen*, meaning weapons. In the poem it is

[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

an exclamation of alarm; Sebesta translates it as "to arms!"[138] This would seem to fit in well with a recently-remilitarized country[139] and one where military spending was consistently more than doubling every two years. One can only presume that Orff was aware of the meaning of this word when he set the text as he did: musically, the word is set much like the dropping of a bomb. The tenor soloist sings a long protracted high note with a crescendo marked, as if the plane is approaching, and then the pitch drops by a semi-tone as if the bomb is released. The brass, bass, and percussion sections then enter with an explosive fortissimo crash as the bomb lands: the debris flies upwards as illustrated by the pitches in the higher voices of brass and male chorus:

Example 4.3 Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*, Movement #13, "*Ego Sum Abbas*" measures 7-10:

As mentioned in the foreword, the musical setting alone of this word "wafna!" makes this non-German speaker think of *Luftwaffe*, the German Air force which was to pound England in the Battle of Britain barely four years after *Carmina Burana*'s première. Without wanting to sound too speculative, was Orff somehow prescient of the horrible

[138] Ibid., 64.
[139] Germany announced that it would not respect the demilitarization of the Rhine in 1935.

war just around the corner, or was he possibly (either consciously or sub-consciously) including a warning about what was about to come within months of the debut of *Carmina Burana*?

There is one more potential anti-Nazi reference embedded in the text of *Carmina Burana*, and that comes from movement #10, "*Were diu werlt alle min.*" This short movement includes a reference to giving up the entire world[140] so that the Queen of England might lie in your arms. At the time of composition Germany and Great Britain were not yet at war, but relations between Hitler and Chamberlain were quickly reaching an all-time low. When the original *Carmina Burana* was written, the English Queen in question was likely Eleanor, the Duchess of Aquitaine,[141] but at the time Orff was setting this poem to music to mention having a strong preference for the leadership of a foreign nation - particularly one that was diametrically ideologically opposed to Germany at the time - bordered on sedition. While England's (and Great Britain's) monarch was actually a King at the time of *Carmina Burana*'s composition, there was also a Queen: King George VI was married to Queen Elizabeth I (1900-2002).[142] Orff could have selected a different poem other than this one, but he did not.[143] While on the surface level the text

[140] "Were all the world mine, from the sea to the Rhine..." Encompassing a large majority of the known world in the early thirteenth century, it is interesting that Hitler's domain was soon to envelop exactly this space as described: from the Rhine to the Atlantic Ocean, exempting only the neutral countries of Sweden , Switzerland, and Spain.

[141] Ibid., 49.

[142] It is also possible that Orff thought these lyrics particularly applicable to the contemporary situation, as Edward VIII abdicated the British throne in 1936 in order to marry divorcee Wallis Simpson.

[143] References to foreign monarchs in the original *Carmina Burana* were not commonplace, however, but it is interesting to note that Orff did not chose to set the secular poem "New Year," ("*anni novi redit novitas*") which includes the line "The Queen of France is not so beautiful..." ("placet plus Francia regina." Waddell, 344-5.) By the time of Orff's composing, the monarchy of France had been dispensed with for almost 150 years, so likely Orff did not see this poem as particularly relevant; however, it is also possible that this poem was not included was because its reference was not positive, i.e., exactly what the Nazis would have been looking for.

merely addresses sexual desire, another deeper interpretation of these lyrics might take them to be urging, at the least, more friendly diplomatic relations.

In addition to the specific texts that Orff decided for one reason or another to include in his musical opus, one could further inquire into the texts that Orff specifically decided to exclude. This would include not only the 200 remaining poems of the *Carmina Burana* but also - perhaps even more importantly - the specific verses of poems that were omitted from the poems that Orff did decide to include. The poem "*potatores exquisite*" ("to you, consummate drinkers") was passed over; it includes the line "wine that is wed with water is emasculate."[144] Is it possible that Orff did not want to make any association with the current situation in Germany and not lend any metaphorical support to the current laws of preventing Aryans from marrying Jews? Orff also did not include the poem "*amare crucior*" which translates in its entirety as: "I suffer, yea, I die,/But this mine agony/I count all bliss,/since death is life again/Upon thy lips."[145] While at first glance these lines seem to articulate exactly what Orff may have been feeling around this time and that the poem might fit itself very nicely at some point in part III, on second reading their expression is subverted by the romantic context in which they are placed. It is possible that Orff did not want to denigrate the very real suffering being experienced by people in Germany at that time by treating it as flippant and something that can be fixed with something so simple as a kiss.

To the objection that the evidence still seems insufficient, one must remember that Orff would have had to have been extremely circumspect in including any element which may have been perceived by the Nazis as offensive, because if they had found

[144] "et vinum debilitatur in copulis." Ibid.
[145] Ibid., 217.

overt opposition contained within it is unlikely that either Orff or *Carmina Burana* would have survived the Nazi regime. For this reason what is being sought as evidence will be small and incidental. However, there seems to be sufficient situations for one to consider the possibility that they were intentionally included by Orff as subtle and obscure anti-Nazi statements.

The strongest and most obvious piece of evidence, however, has yet to be mentioned. Orff may have embedded an anti-Nazi statement into the theme of *Carmina Burana* itself. Note the lyrics of the third stanza of the second movement, "*Fortune plango vulnera*:"

Fortune rota volvitur:	The wheel of Fortune turns;
descendo minoratus;	I go down, demeaned;
alter in altum tollitur;	another is raised up;
nimis exaltatus	far too high up
rex sedet in vertice	sits the king at the summit -
caveat ruinam!	let him fear ruin!
nam sub axe legimus	for under the axis is written
Hecubam reginam.	Queen Hecuba.

A clearer poetic warning to Hitler could hardly be delivered, if we interpret the inclusion of this poem to be an autobiographical statement of how the composer was feeling. Orff here is saying Hitler is "far too high up" currently, but takes hope in the fact that this too shall pass, thanks to the almighty Fortuna. Orff's musical reinforcement of the treacherous sentiment of this poem is done in the strongest possible manner: by repeating the opening chorus as the closing chorus. It is a strong statement of belief, not in any current government, but in a higher power that will ultimately cause their ruin.[146] Thus,

[146] The classical reference to Queen Hecuba could be interpreted as applying to Hitler (two rulers whose names both start with "H"). One would only see the writing on the axis of a chariot by being beneath it (i.e., by being oppressed by the rider of that chariot). Queen Hecuba was the Queen of Troy, and we all know how that story turned out: Troy fell. By allegory, then, so will the Nazis, inevitably.

the music structure of *Carmina Burana* may be not only mimetic but also politically inspired. Note also the music of the first movement: from the opening, each individual melodic line is descending, as if to subtly suggest that the Nazis (or all governing powers) are on their way out. Orff has also set the strings in this movement in an off-beat hemiola pattern, as if they were polymetrically marking their own three cut time bars under the singers' 3/2 time signature. Their relentless rhythm, coupled with their pitches might suggest a ticking clock (see also plate #1 on the following page):

Example 4.4 Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*, Movement #1, "O Fortuna," measures 5-9.

3/2
♩= 120-132
pp
sem - per crescis aut de - crescis; vi - ta
pp
sem - per crescis aut de - crescis; vi - ta
pp
sem - per crescis aut de - crescis; vi - ta
pp
sem - per crescis aut de - crescis; vi - ta
Pno., Archi pizz.
pp

Even if one did not view the above instances as examples of anti-Nazi sentiment, commentators still observe that, consistent with the original poetry, Orff has shaped his

Plate #1: The opening few bars from the autograph of Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*

Carmina Burana into a medieval morality play.[147] With these interpretations *Carmina Burana* becomes even more so. If any one of these interpretations can be proven as true then it can be said that Orff's setting of these ancient poems stays true to the original Goliardic intent of the *Carmina* collection, satirizing and mocking the dominant culture of his time as well. Orff has consistently selected texts that challenge the authority of the government in power.

There is one more possible interpretation to consider on the grander scale. In the collected poems of *Carmina Burana* that Orff used, an illustration of Fortuna was included on the very first page (see plate #2 on next page). While it prefaced the entire body of the poems in Schmeller's first publication of the codex, originally it had been placed with the later group of poems that were specifically devoted to Fortuna. Presumably, this striking illustration would have been the first thing that Orff saw, and possibly contributed strongly to his attraction to the Carmina poems:

> On the first folio of the manuscript of the Carmina Burana is a miniature which represents the wheel of fortune and four human figures on its rim. Inside the rim is the goddess Fortuna herself, face turned to the spectator with four opened scrolls. Each human figure has a caption: on the left by the side of the upward moving figure is written *regnabo*, I shall govern; on the top by the side of the crowned figure *regno*, I am governing; on the right downward moving figure with the falling crown, *regnavi*, I have governed; and, by the side of the figure beneath the wheel, *sum sine regno*, I have nothing to govern. The figures can be interpreted as four kings whirled around by *Fortuna*.[148]

It is interesting to map out the progress of Orff's setting of the Carmina Burana against this diagram, with which he assuredly was familiar. If one is to attach a label to the sections of Orff's *Carmina Burana* - that is, the poems that he chose to set and the order he chose to put them in, it might go something like this. *Carmina Burana*

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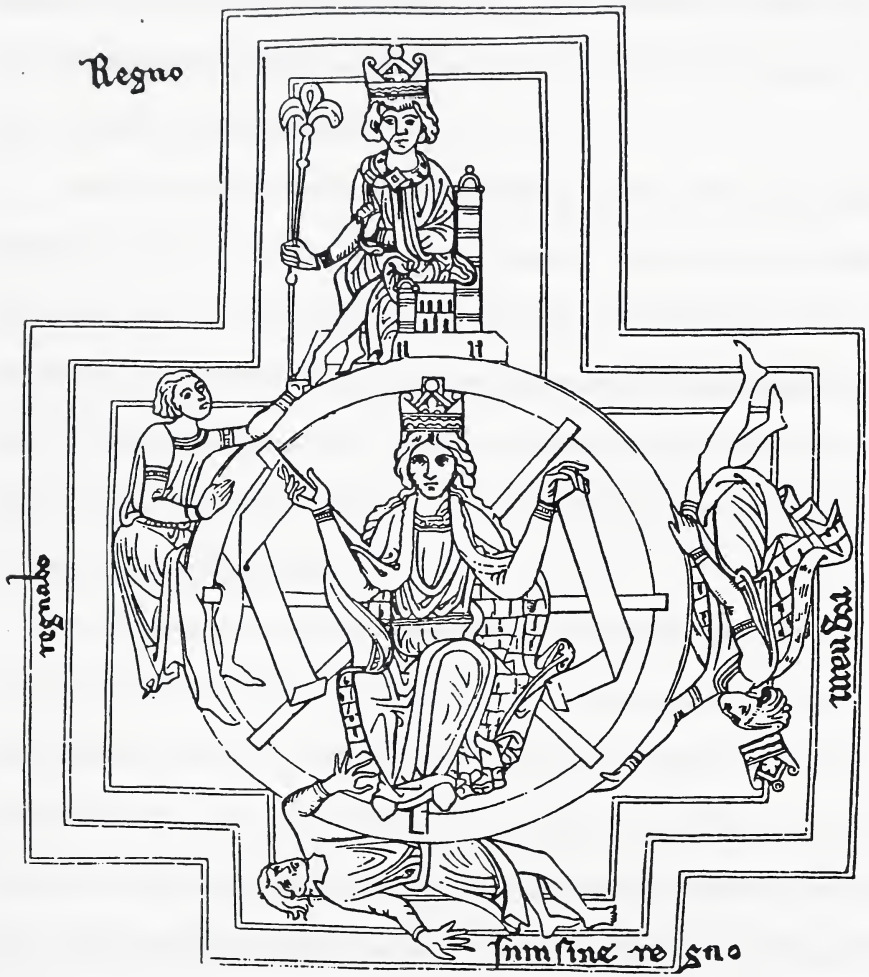
[147] Sebesta, 135.
[148] Lehtonen, 93.

Plate #2: Mediaeval Illustration
taken from the first page of Schmeller's 1847 publication of *Carmina Burana* poems:

The Goddess Fortuna



obviously starts in the center of the circle, praising the Goddess Fortuna, which continues into the second movement. The first part, however, takes place in spring, and the joyous celebrations that surround that happy time of year would locate this section with the ascending position. One can tell this from the titles of the poems involved: "The merry face of spring," "The sun warms everything," and "Behold, the pleasant spring;" these are pleasant poems revelling in the longer days, increased sunshine and warmth, and obviously deal with the person on the ascent. The poems that follow about the beauties of love support this interpretation.

After this happy section we move into a sharp contrast: in the tavern, where people have come to escape the difficulties of harsh life. Here we hear of a drunk whose soul is dead (#11) or a swan whose body is about to be consumed (#12). This second part would be associated with the bottom position, the person who is getting ground into the earth by Fortune's revolving wheel. But this is not the direction in which we would expect to move, as the words included with the illustration point out that the wheel revolves in a clockwise direction.

Yet the final section reaffirms this counter-clockwise direction. While the happy occasion of romance might be mistaken for a position also on the ascent, another look seems to indicate that this is not the part of the wheel with which Orff would have associated this part. Taken as a whole, the *Cour d`amours* part relates the story of a boy and a girl who fall in love. At the end she decides to submit and puts on a yoke willingly (#21), giving herself over totally to someone else (#23). Blanziflor and Helena (#24) are both characters from classical history who fell from grace. Thus the part III of *Carmina Burana* can be located with the descending part of the wheel.

Overall, then, Orff chooses to move in a counter-clockwise direction, opposite to the wheel spun by Fortuna. Why might he select to move in this direction? Perhaps it was to symbolize Orff's private rebellion against the fickle fortunes of fate: that which put the Nazis in power in the first place. His choice of direction could represent a hidden encouragement to everyone to resist tyranny, that which controls us. Or, perhaps he opted to specifically move in a counter-clockwise direction because the symbol of the Nazi movement was the *hakenkreutz*, or swastika: a modified Christian cross, out of the ends of which emerge perpendicular lines which proceed in a clockwise direction. *Carmina Burana* may represent anti-Nazi sentiments on the most fundamental of all levels: structural.

Conclusion

Overall, the number of movements which textually could be interpreted as having anti-Nazi sentiments expressed within them is almost overwhelming: 22 out of 25 movements lend themselves to a possibly subversive political underlay.[149] In addition to these situations whereby the ancient poetic texts selected by Orff seemed to have particular relevance to Orff's contemporary situation, it has been pointed out that *Carmina Burana* might contain anti-Nazi sentiments in two other ways as well: musically (as illustrated by the examples above) and structurally. Orff even seems to have expressed anti-Nazi sentiments in constructing *Carmina Burana* in a counter-clockwise direction. Finally, even Orff's selection of ancient Goliardic poetry as poetry which mocks authority can be seen as an anti-Nazi statement in itself – not to mention his insistence on using archaic languages he knew might incite Nazi censure. Given the large number of possibly anti-Nazi sentiments contained in Orff's *Carmina Burana*, it seems more likely that Orff was intentionally yet subtly trying to make a statement about his political stance than that all of these various metaphorical interpretations happened merely by chance.[150]

If nothing else, this historical and textual study of *Carmina Burana* can shed some light on the societal and political context in which it was composed, which can only have contributed indelibly to the composer's state of mind when Orff first selected the texts and put pen to paper. Even if the possible anti-Nazi allusions are viewed as weak, the

[149] Of the three that do not, one (#6) is textless: the other two (#17 and 19) can only be understood in this way in the most liberal of allegorical interpretations.

[150] Additionally, we know that Orff has been intentionally subversive in his setting of text elsewhere (in *Oedipus*, the title role sings an leap of a 12th upwards on the word "fall:" Liesse, 152-3); is it not possible that Orff may have done this in *Carmina Burana* as well?

composition *Carmina Burana* itself most certainly not. On the contrary, it is one of the strongest and most memorable settings of text ever composed, which is why since its completion it has never left the standard repertory; it is indisputably one of the world's great choral masterpieces. At the least, knowing the context in which *Carmina Burana* was written can help modern audiences to view Orff's deservedly famous composition in a new light: as a desperate plea and pagan personal prayer to the Goddess of Fortune for the luck to be able to weather the coming storm.

Appendix A: List of German Terms and Abbreviations Used in this Work

Anschluss - the German annexation of Austria, which occurred March 12 and 13, 1938.

Auschwitz - one of a series of death-camps set up explicitly for the systematic eradication of the Jews of Europe.

Brownshirts - a reference to Hitler's SA (see below), who in the early stages of National Socialism wore any brown shirt as their uniform.

Entartete Musik - Degenerate Music; along with Degenerate Art, the Nazis would hold expositions of this material in order to educate the public on the undesirable elements of German culture.

entjüdung - literally, "de-Jewificiation;" the policy and practice of removing Jewish influences

Führer - literally, "Leader;" it refers to the unique combination of the former positions of both Chancellor of Germany and President, and is the title by which Hitler would forever be known.

hakenkreutz - the swastika; a modified Christian cross, out of the ends of which emerge perpendicular lines which proceed in a clockwise direction; since 1923 it was used as symbol of the Nazi movement.

Haus der Kuns - literally, "house of art" (i.e. an art museum).

JKD - *Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland*, or the "Jewish Culture League in Germany;" Since Jews were not permitted to contribute to "German" cultural groups such as orchestras, this Nazi-administrated organization was formed in October of 1933 specifically for the employment of Jewish musicians.

KfdK - *Kampfbund für deutsche Kulture,* or the "Combat League for German Culture;" an organization, initiated in 1929 by Nazi party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg, which aimed to eradicate the foreign influences in German culture.

Kristallnacht - literally, the "Night of Broken Glass;" it refers to the SS-lead riots of the night of November 9-10, 1938, when Jewish shops were looted, synagogues burned, and 20,000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Landtage - the local state legislatures under the Reichstag (German parliament) in Berlin: they were abolished by Hitler in 1934.

Nazi - short for National Socialist, the political party formed by Hitler in 1920, banned by the German government in 1923, and resurrected by Hitler a few years later; it would steadily gain power and popularity until it became the governing party in Germany in January, 1933.

Putsch - in general an attempted *coup d'etat*, but in German the word refers specifically to Hitler's failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923.

RMK - *Reichmusikkammer*, or the "Reich Chamber of Music;" a subdivision of the RKK (see below) which concentrated solely on the musical aspect of cultural production.

RKK - *Reichskulturkammer*, or the "Reich Chamber of Culture;" part of the Nazi bureaucracy that had primary jurisdiction over all areas of German culture. Officially, their responsibility was to establish and strengthen a distinctly German aesthetic; this entailed both the promotion of creative and productive forces, such as ensuring adequate wages for German (meaning Aryan) musicians, and the eradication of foreign elements (i.e. specifically Jewish influences).

SS - S*chutzstaffel*; literally, protective guards; they were Hitler's private security force.

SA - S*turmabteilung*; storm troopers, or the elite section of the Nazi army.

SD - *Sicherheitsdienst*; the Nazi special "Security Service."

STAGMA - *Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte*; the German composers' organization which oversaw the legalities involved in the relatively new laws (at the time) for musical copyright and collection and distribution of related fees.

Treblinka - another in the series of Nazi death-camps, this one located in western Poland.

Volkslied - German word for folksong.

Appendix B: The Lyrics for Carl Orff's *Carmina Burana*

1. Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi

Fortune, Empress of the World

O Fortuna

O Fortune

O Fortuna
velut luna
statu variabilis,
semper crescis
aut decrescis;
vita detestabilis
nunc obdurate
et tunc curat
ludo mentis aciem,
egestatem,
potestatem
dissolvit ut glaciem.

O Fortune,
like the moon
you are changeable,
ever waxing
and waning;
hateful life
first oppresses
and then soothes
as fancy takes it;
poverty
and power
it melts them like ice.

Sors immanis
et inanis,
rota tu volubilis,
status malus,
vana salus
semper dissolubilis,
obumbrata
et velata
michi quoque niteris;
nunc per ludum
dorsum nudum
fero tui sceleris.

Fate - monstrous
and empty,
you whirling wheel,
you are malevolent,
well-being is vain
and always fades to nothing,
shadowed
and veiled
you plague me too;
now through the game
I bring my bare back
to your villainy.

Sors salutis
et virtutis
michi nunc contraria,
est affectus
et defectus
semper in angaria.
Hac in hora
sine mora
corde pulsum tangite;
quod per sortem
sternit fortem,
mecum omnes plangite!

Fate is against me
in health
and virtue,
driven on
and weighted down,
always enslaved.
So at this hour
without delay
pluck the vibrating strings;
since Fate
strikes down the strong man,
everyone weep with me!

2. Fortune plango vulnera

Fortune plango vulnera
stillantibus ocellis
quod sua michi munera
subtrahit rebellis.
Verum est, quod legitur,
fronte capillata,
sed plerumque sequitur
Occasio calvata.

In Fortune solio
sederam elatus,
prosperitatis vario
flore coronatus;
quicquid enim florui
felix et beatus,
nunc a summo corrui
gloria privatus.

Fortune rota volvitur:
descendo minoratus;
alter in altum tollitur;
nimis exaltatus
rex sedet in vertice
caveat ruinam!
nam sub axe legimus
Hecubam reginam.

I bemoan the wounds of Fortune

I bemoan the wounds of Fortune
with weeping eyes,
for the gifts she made me
she perversely takes away.
It is written in truth,
that she has a fine head of hair,
but, when it comes to seizing an
opportunity she is bald.

On Fortune's throne
I used to sit raised up,
crowned with
the many-coloured flowers of prosperity;
though I may have flourished
happy and blessed,
now I fall from the peak
deprived of glory.

The wheel of Fortune turns;
I go down, demeaned;
another is raised up;
far too high up
sits the king at the summit -
let him fear ruin!
for under the axis is written
Queen Hecuba.

PRIMO VERE

SPRING

3 Veris leta facies

Veris leta facies
mundo propinatur,
hiemalis acies
victa iam fugatur,
in vestitu vario
Flora principatur,
nemorum dulcisono
que cantu celebratur.

Flore fusus gremio
Phebus novo more
risum dat, hac vario

The merry face of spring

The merry face of spring
turns to the world,
sharp winter
now flees, vanquished;
bedecked in various colours
Flora reigns,
the harmony of the woods
praises her in song. Ah!

Lying in Flora's lap
Phoebus once more
smiles, now covered

iam stipate flore.
Zephyrus nectareo
spirans in odore.
Certatim pro bravio
curramus in amore.

Cytharizat cantico
dulcis Philomena,
flore rident vario
prata iam serena,
salit cetus avium
silve per amena,
chorus promit virgin
iam gaudia millena.

in many-coloured flowers,
Zephyr breathes nectar-
scented breezes.
Let us rush to compete
for love's prize. Ah!

In harp-like tones sings
the sweet nightingale,
with many flowers
the joyous meadows are laughing,
a flock of birds rises up
through the pleasant forests,
the chorus of maidens
already promises a thousand joys. Ah!

4 Omnia sol temperat

Omnia sol temperat
purus et subtilis,
novo mundo reserat
faciem Aprilis,
ad amorem properat
animus herilis
et iocundis imperat
deus puerilis.

Rerum tanta novitas
in solemni vere
et veris auctoritas
jubet nos gaudere;
vias prebet solitas,
et in tuo vere
fides est et probitas
tuum retinere.

Ama me fideliter,
fidem meam noto:
de corde totaliter
et ex mente tota
sum presentialiter
absens in remota,
quisquis amat taliter,
volvitur in rota.

The sun warms everything

The sun warms everything,
pure and gentle,
once again it reveals to the world
April's face,
the soul of man
is urged towards love
and joys are governed
by the boy-god.

All this rebirth
in spring's festivity
and spring's power
bids us to rejoice;
it shows us paths we know well,
and in your springtime
it is true and right
to keep what is yours.

Love me faithfully!
See how I am faithful:
with all my heart
and with all my soul,
I am with you
even when I am far away.
Whosoever loves this much
turns on the wheel.

5 Ecce gratum

Ecce gratum
et optatum
Ver reducit gaudia,
purpuratum
floret pratum,
Sol serenat omnia.
Iamiam cedant tristia!
Estas redit,
nunc recedit
Hyemis sevitia.

Iam liquescit
et decrescit
grando, nix et cetera;
bruma fugit,
et iam sugit
Ver Estatis ubera;
illi mens est misera,
qui nec vivit,
nec lascivit
sub Estatis dextera.

Gloriantur
et letantur a
in melle dulcedinis,
qui conantur,
ut utantur
premio Cupidinis:
simus jussu Cypridis
gloriantes
et letantes
pares esse Paridis.

Behold, the pleasant spring

Behold, the pleasant
and longed-for
spring brings back joyfulness,
violet flowers
fill the meadows,
the sun brightens everything,
sadness is now at an end!
Summer returns,
now withdraw
the rigours of winter. Ah!

Now melts
and disappears
ice, snow and the rest,
winter flees,
and now spring sucks at summer's
breast:
a wretched soul is he
who does not live
or lust
under summer's rule. Ah!

They glory
and rejoice
in honeyed sweetness
who strive
to make use of
Cupid's prize;
at Venus' command
let us glory
and rejoice
in being Paris' equals. Ah!

Uf dem anger

6. Tanz

7. Floret silva nobilis

Floret silva nobilis
floribus et foliis.

Ubi est antiquus
meus amicus?

On the Lawn

Dance

The woods are burgeoning

The noble woods are burgeoning
with flowers and leaves.

Where is the lover
I knew? Ah!

Hinc equitavit!
eia, quis me amabit?

Floret silva undique,
nah min gesellen ist mir we.

Gruonet der walt allenthalben,
wa ist min geselle alse lange?
Der ist geriten hinnen,
o wi, wer sol mich minnen?

8. Chramer, gip die varwe mir

Chramer, gip die varwe mir,
die min wengel roete,
damit ich die jungen man
an ir dank der minnenliebe noete.
Seht mich an,
jungen man!
lat mich iu gevallen!

Minnet, tugentliche man,
minnecliche frouwen!
minne tuot iu hoch gemout
unde lat iuch in hohen eren schouwen
Seht mich an
jungen man!
lat mich iu gevallen!

Wol dir, werit, daz du bist
also freudenriche!
ich will dir sin undertan
durch din liebe immer sicherliche.
Seht mich an,
jungen man!
lat mich iu gevallen!

9. Reie

Swaz hie gat umbe

Swaz hie gat umbe,
daz sint alles megede,
die wellent an man
allen disen sumer gan!

He has ridden off!
Oh! Who will love me? Ah!

The woods are burgeoning all over,
I am pining for my lover.

The woods are turning green all over,
why is my lover away so long? Ah!
He has ridden off,
Oh woe, who will love me? Ah!

Shopkeeper, give me colour

Shopkeeper, give me colour
to make my cheeks red,
so that I can make the young men
love me, against their will.
Look at me,
young men!
Let me please you!

Good men, love
women worthy of love!
Love ennobles your spirit
and gives you honour.
Look at me,
young men!
Let me please you!

Hail, world,
so rich in joys!
I will be obedient to you
because of the pleasures you afford.
Look at me,
young men!
Let me please you!

Round dance

Those Who Go Round and Round

Those who go round and round
are all maidens,
they want to do without a man
all summer long. Ah! Sla!

Chume, chum, geselle min

Chume, chum, geselle min,
ih enbite harte din,
ih enbite harte din,
chume, chum, geselle min.

Suzer rosenvarwer munt,
chum un mache mich gesunt
chum un mache mich gesunt,
suzer rosenvarwer munt

Swaz hie gat umbe

Swaz hie gat umbe,
daz sint alles megede,
die wellent an man
allen disen sumer gan!

10. Were diu werlt alle min

Were diu werlt alle min
von deme mere unze an den Rin
des wolt ih mih darben,
daz diu chunegin von Engellant
lege an minen armen.

IN TABERNA

11. Estuans interius

Estuans interius
ira vehementi
in amaritudine
loquor mee menti:
factus de materia,
cinis elementi
similis sum folio,
de quo ludunt venti.

Cum sit enim proprium
viro sapienti
supra petram ponere
sedem fundamenti,
stultus ego comparor

Come, come, my love

Come, come, my love,
I long for you,
I long for you,
come, come, my love.

Sweet rose-red lips,
come and make me better,
come and make me better,
sweet rose-red lips.

Those Who Go Round and Round

Those who go round and round
are all maidens,
they want to do without a man
all summer long. Ah! Sla!

Were all the world mine

Were all the world mine
from the sea to the Rhine,
I would starve myself of it
so that the queen of England
might lie in my arms.

IN THE TAVERN

Burning Inside

Burning inside
with violent anger,
bitterly
I speak to my heart:
created from matter,
of the ashes of the elements,
I am like a leaf
played with by the winds.

If it is the way
of the wise man
to build
foundations on stone,
the I am a fool, like

fluvio labenti,
sub eodem tramite
nunquam permanenti.

Feror ego veluti
sine nauta navis,
ut per vias aeris
vaga fertur avis;
non me tenent vincula,
non me tenet clavis,
quero mihi similes
et adiungor pravis.

Mihi cordis gravitas
res videtur gravis;
iocis est amabilis
dulciorque favis;
quicquid Venus imperat,
labor est suavis,
que nunquam in cordibus
habitat ignavis.

Via lata gradior
more iuventutis
inplicor et vitiis
immemor virtutis,
voluptatis avidus
magis quam salutis,
mortuus in anima
curam gero cutis.

a flowing stream,
which in its course
never changes.

I am carried along
like a ship without a steersman,
and in the paths of the air
like a light, hovering bird;
chains cannot hold me,
keys cannot imprison me,
I look for people like me
and join the wretches.

The heaviness of my heart
seems like a burden to me;
it is pleasant to joke
and sweeter than honeycomb;
whatever Venus commands
is a sweet duty,
she never dwells
in a lazy heart.

I travel the broad path
as is the way of youth,
I give myself to vice,
unmindful of virtue,
I am eager for the pleasures of the flesh
more than for salvation,
my soul is dead,
so I shall look after the flesh.

12. Cignus ustus cantat

Olim lacus colueram,
olim pulcher extiteram,
dum cignus ego fueram.

Miser, miser!
modo niger
et ustus fortiter!

Girat, regirat garcifer;
me rogus urit fortiter;
propinat me nunc dapifer,

The Roast Swan

Once I lived on lakes,
once I looked beautiful
when I was a swan.

Misery me!
Now black
and roasting fiercely!

The servant is turning me on the spit;
I am burning fiercely on the pyre:
the steward now serves me up.

Miser, miser!
modo niger
et ustus fortiter!

Nunc in scutella iaceo,
et volitare nequeo
dentes frendentes video:

Miser, miser!
modo niger
et ustus fortiter!

Misery me!
Now black
and roasting fiercely!

Now I lie on a plate,
and cannot fly anymore,
I see bared teeth:

Misery me!
Now black
and roasting fiercely!

13. Ego sum abbas

Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis
et consilium meum est cum bibulis,
et in secta Decii voluntas mea est,
et qui mane me quesierit in taberna,

post vesperam nudus egredietur,
et sic denudatus veste clamabit:

Wafna, wafna!
quid fecisti sors turpassi
Nostre vite gaudia
abstulisti omnia!

I am the abbot

I am the abbot of Cockaigne
and my assembly is one of drinkers,
and I wish to be in the order of Decius,
and whoever searches me out at the tavern in the morning,
after Vespers he will leave naked,
and thus stripped of his clothes he will call out:

Woe! Woe!
what have you done, vilest Fate?
the joys of my life
you have taken all away!

14. In taberna quando sumus

In taberna quando sumus
non curamus quid sit humus,
sed ad ludum properamus,
cui semper insudamus.
Quid agatur in taberna
ubi nummus est pincerna,
hoc est opus ut queratur,
si quid loquar, audiatur.

Quidam ludunt, quidam bibunt,
quidam indiscrete vivunt.
Sed in ludo qui morantur,
ex his quidam denudantur

When we are in the tavern

When we are in the tavern,
we do not think how we will go to dust,
but we hurry to gamble,
which always makes us sweat.
What happens in the tavern,
where money is host,
you may well ask,
and hear what I say.

Some gamble, some drink,
some behave loosely.
But of those who gamble,
some are stripped bare,

quidam ibi vestiuntur,
quidam saccis induuntur.
Ibi nullus timet mortem
sed pro Baccho mittunt sortem:

some win their clothes here,
some are dressed in sacks.
Here no-one fears death,
but they throw the dice in the name of Bacchus.

Primo pro nummata vini,
ex hac bibunt libertini;
semel bibunt pro captivis,
post hec bibunt ter pro vivis,
quater pro Christianis cunctis
quinquies pro fidelibus defunctis,
sexies pro sororibus vanis,
septies pro militibus silvanis.

First of all it is to the wine-merchant
that the libertines drink,
one for the prisoners,
three for the living,
four for all Christians,
five for the faithful dead,
six for the loose sisters,
seven for the footpads in the wood,

Octies pro fratribus perversis,
nonies pro monachis dispersis,
decies pro navigantibus
undecies pro discordaniibus,
duodecies pro penitentibus,
tredecies pro iter agentibus.
Tam pro papa quam pro rege
bibunt omnes sine lege.

Eight for the errant brethren,
nine for the dispersed monks,
ten for the seamen,
eleven for the squabblers,
twelve for the penitent,
thirteen for the wayfarers.
To the Pope as to the king
they all drink without restraint.

Bibit hera, bibit herus,
bibit miles, bibit clerus,
bibit ille, bibit illa,
bibit servis cum ancilla,
bibit velox, bibit piger,

bibit albus, bibit niger,

bibit constans, bibit vagus,

bibit rudis, bibit magnus.

The mistress drinks, the master drinks,
the soldier drinks, the priest drinks,
the man drinks, the woman drinks,
the servant drinks with the maid,
the swift man drinks, the lazy man drinks,
the white man drinks, the black man drinks,
the settled man drinks, the wanderer drinks,
the stupid man drinks, the wise man drinks,

Bibit pauper et egrotus,

bibit exul et ignotus,
bibit puer, bibit canus,
bibit presul et decanus,
bibit soror, bibit frater,
bibit anus, bibit mater,
bibit ista, bibit ille,
bibunt centum, bibunt mille.

The poor man drinks, the sick man drinks,
the exile drinks, and the stranger,
the boy drinks, the old man drinks,
the bishop drinks, and the deacon,
the sister drinks, the brother drinks,
the old lady drinks, the mother drinks,
this man drinks, that man drinks,
a hundred drink, a thousand drink.

Parum sexcente nummate
durant, cum immoderate
bibunt omnes sine meta.
Quamvis bibant mente leta,
sic nos rodunt omnes gentes
et sic erimus egentes.
Qui nos rodunt confundantur
et cum iustis non scribantur.

Six hundred pennies would hardly
suffice, if everyone
drinks immoderately and immeasurably.
However much they cheerfully drink
we are the ones whom everyone scolds,
and thus we are destitute.
May those who slander us be cursed
and may their names not be written in
the book of the righteous.

III. COUR D'AMOURS

THE COURT OF LOVE

15. Amor volat undique

Cupid flies everywhere

Amor volat undique,
captus est libidine.
Iuvenes, iuvencule
coniunguntur merito.

Cupid flies everywhere
seized by desire.
Young men and women
are rightly coupled.

Siqua sine socio,
caret omni gaudio;
tenet noctis infima
sub intimo
cordis in custodia:
fit res amarissima.

The girl without a lover
misses out on all pleasures,
she keeps the dark night
hidden
in the depth of her heart;
it is a most bitter fate.

16. Dies, nox et omnia

Day, night and everything

Dies, nox et omnia
michi sunt contraria;
virginum colloquia
me fay planszer,
oy suvenz suspirer,
plu me fay temer.

Day, night and everything
is against me,
the chattering of maidens
makes me weep,
and often sigh,
and, most of all, scares me.

O sodales, ludite,
vos qui scitis dicite
michi mesto parcite,
grand ey dolur,
attamen consulite
per voster honur.

O friends, you are making fun of me,
you do not know what you are saying,
spare me, sorrowful as I am,
great is my grief,
advise me at least,
by your honour.

Tua pulchra facies
me fay planszer milies,
pectus habet glacies.

Your beautiful face,
makes me weep a thousand times,
your heart is of ice.

A remender
statim vivus fierem
per un baser.

As a cure,
I would be revived
by a kiss.

17. Stetit puella

Stetit puella
rufa tunica;
si quis eam tetigit,
tunica crepuit. Eia.

Stetit puella
tamquam rosula;
facie splenduit,
os eius fioruit. Eia.

A girl stood

A girl stood
in a red tunic;
if anyone touched it,
the tunic rustled. Eia!

A girl stood
like a little rose:
her face was radiant
and her mouth in bloom. Eia!

18. Circa mea pectora

Circa mea pectora
multa sunt suspiria
de tua pulchritudine,
que me ledunt misere.

Manda liet,
Manda liet
min geselle
chumet niet.

Tui lucent oculi
sicut solis radii,
sicut splendor fulguris
lucem donat tenebris.

Manda liet
Manda liet,
min geselle
chumet niet.

Vellet deus, vallent dii
quod mente proposui:
ut eius virginea
reserassem vincula.

In my heart

In my heart
there are many sighs
for your beauty,
which wound me sorely. Ah!

Mandaliet,
mandaliet,
my lover
does not come.

Your eyes shine
like the rays of the sun,
like the flashing of lightening
which brightens the darkness. Ah!

Mandaliet,
mandaliet,
my lover
does not come.

May God grant, may the gods grant
what I have in mind:
that I may loose
the chains of her virginity. Ah!

Manda liet,
Manda liet,
min geselle
chumet niet.

Mandaliet,
mandaliet,
my lover
does not come.

19. Si puer cum puellula

Si puer cum puellula
moraretur in cellula,
felix coniunctio.
Amore suscrescente
pariter e medio
avulso procul tedio,
fit ludus ineffabilis
membris, lacertis, labii

If a boy with a girl

If a boy with a girl
tarries in a little room,
happy is their coupling.
Love rises up,
and between them
prudery is driven away,
an ineffable game begins
in their limbs, arms and lips.

20. Veni, veni, venias

Veni, veni, venias
Veni, veni, venias,
ne me mori facias,
hyrca, hyrce, nazaza,
trillirivos...

Pulchra tibi facies
oculorum acies,
capillorum series,
o quam clara species!

Rosa rubicundior,
lilio candidior
omnibus formosior,
semper in te glorior!

Come, come, O come

Come, come, O come
Come, come, O come,
do not let me die,
hycra, hycre, nazaza,
trillirivos!

Beautiful is your face,
the gleam of your eye,
your braided hair,
what a glorious creature!

redder than the rose,
whiter than the lily,
lovelier than all others,
I shall always glory in you!

21. In truitina

In truitina mentis dubia
fluctuant contraria
lascivus amor et pudicitia.
Sed eligo quod video,
collum iugo prebeo:
ad iugum tamen suave transeo.

In the balance

In the wavering balance of my feelings
set against each other
lascivious love and modesty.
But I choose what I see,
and submit my neck to the yoke;
I yield to the sweet yoke.

22. Tempus es iocundum

Tempus es iocundum,
o virgines,
modo congaudete
vos iuvenes.

Oh, oh, oh,
totus floreo,
iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus, novus amor
est, quo pereo.

Mea me confortat
promissio,
mea me deportat
negatio.

Oh, oh, oh
totus floreo
iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus, novus amor
est, quo pereo.

Tempore brumali
vir patiens,
animo vernali
lasciviens.

Oh, oh, oh,
totus floreo,
iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus, novus amor
est, quo pereo.

Mea mecum ludit
virginitas,
mea me detrudit
simplicitas.

Oh, oh, oh,
totus floreo,

This is the joyful time

This is the joyful time,
O maidens,
rejoice with them,
young men!

Oh! Oh! Oh!
I am bursting out all over!
I am burning all over
with first love!
New, new love
is what I am dying of!

I am heartened
by my promise,
I am downcast
by my refusal.

Oh! Oh! Oh!
I am bursting out all over!
I am burning all over
with first love!
New, new love
is what I am dying of!

In the winter
man is patient,
the breath of spring
makes him lust.

Oh! Oh! Oh!
I am bursting out all over!
I am burning all over
with first love!
New, new love
is what I am dying of!

My virginity
makes me frisky,
my simplicity
holds me back.

Oh! Oh! Oh!
I am bursting out all over!

iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus, novus amor
est, quo pereo.

Veni, domicella,
cum gaudio,
veni, veni, pulchra,
iam pereo.

Oh, oh, oh,
totus floreo,
iam amore virginali
totus ardeo,
novus, novus amor
est, quo pereo.

I am burning all over
with first love!
New, new love
is what I am dying of!

Come, my mistress,
with joy,
come, come, my pretty,
I am dying!

Oh! Oh! Oh!
I am bursting out all over!
I am burning all over
with first love!
New, new love
is what I am dying of!

23. Dulcissime

Dulcissime,
totam tibi subdo me!

Sweetest one

Sweetest one! Ah!
I give myself to you totally!

Blanziflor Et Helena

Blanchefleur and Helen

24. Ave formosissima

Ave formosissima,
gemma pretiosa,
ave decus virginum,
virgo gloriosa,
ave mundi luminar,
ave mundi rosa,
Blanziflor et Helena,
Venus generosa!

Hail, most beautiful one

Hail, most beautiful one,
precious jewel,
Hail, pride among virgins,
glorious virgin,
Hail, light of the world,
Hail, rose of the world,
Blanchefleur and Helen,
noble Venus!

25. Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi

O Fortuna

O Fortuna
velut luna
statu variabilis,
semper crescis
aut decrescis;
vita detestabilis
nunc obdurate
et tunc curat
ludo mentis aciem,
egestatem,
potestatem
dissolvit ut glaciem.

Sors immanis
et inanis,
rota tu volubilis,
status malus,
vana salus
semper dissolubilis,
obumbrata
et velata
michi quoque niteris;
nunc per ludum
dorsum nudum
fero tui sceleris.

Sors salutis
et virtutis
michi nunc contraria,
est affectus
et defectus
semper in angaria.
Hac in hora
sine mora
corde pulsum tangite;
quod per sortem
sternit fortem,
mecum omnes plangite!

Fortune, Empress of the World

O Fortune

O Fortune,
like the moon
you are changeable,
ever waxing
and waning;
hateful life
first oppresses
and then soothes
as fancy takes it;
poverty
and power
it melts them like ice.

Fate - monstrous
and empty,
you whirling wheel,
you are malevolent,
well-being is vain
and always fades to nothing,
shadowed
and veiled
you plague me too;
now through the game
I bring my bare back
to your villainy.

Fate is against me
in health
and virtue,
driven on
and weighted down,
always enslaved.
So at this hour
without delay
pluck the vibrating strings;
since Fate
strikes down the strong man,
everyone weep with me!

Appendix C: The Format of *Carmina Burana*

Movement Number	Title	Language	Form	Forces
Introduction	***Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi***			
1	*O Fortuna*	Latin	Strophic (after introduction, material is repeated 4 times using additive construction)	Choir
2	*Fortune plango vulnera*	Latin	Strophic (3 verses) in ABB': B' merely adds women (and thirds) to B	Choir
I	***Primo Vere***			
3	*Veris leta facies*	Latin	Strophic (2 chant-like phrases for BA followed by 1 plus "ah" for ST repeated 3 times)	Coro piccolo - choir is always halved and paired BA or ST - no strings in accompaniment
4	*Omnia sol temperat*	Latin	Strophic (3 verses)	Baritone solo
5	*Ecce Gratum*	Latin	Strophic (3 verses, each with tenor incipit)	Choir
	Uf dem Anger			
6	*Tanz*	n/a	ABBA	Orchestra
7	*Floret Silva*	Latin with German conclusion	Strophic (each verse ABC with repeated phrases - verse two AB only)	Choir (small and large)
8	*Chramer, gip die varwe mir*	Grerman	Strophic (3 verses, each ABC)	Soprano solo and both choirs
9	*Reie*	n/a	Strophic (AAB)	Orchestra
	Swaz hie gat umbe	German	Antiphonal (AAAB)	Choir
	Chume, chum, geselle min	German	Strophic (AABB repeated once)	Coro piccolo
	Swaz hie gat umbe	German	Antiphonal (AAAB) - recapitulation of #9b	Choir
10	*Were diu werlt alle min*	German	Antiphonal (AABBCC)	Choir
II	***In Taberna***			
11	*Estuans interius*	Latin	Quasi-strophic (macro ABB; each section being ab(a)(b) on the micro-level as well)	Baritone solo

Movement Number	Title	Language	Form	Forces
12	*Olim lacus colueram*	Latin	Strophic (3 verses)	Tenor solo and Choir (men) - no violins
13	*Ego sum abbas*	Latin	Improvisatory chant: responsorial call between soloist and choir at end	Baritone solo and Choir (men) - percussion and brass accompaniment only
14	*In taberna quando sumus*	Latin	ABC: A - Strophic opening (2 verses of ab each): B - additive construction as child's number game; C - strophic ab repeated (all 8th notes) with coda	Choir (men)
III	***Cour d'amours***			
15	*Amor volat undique*	Latin	ABA (soloist in B section)	Soprano solo and children's choir
16	*Dies, nox et omnia*	Latin	Strophic (2 verses of aab)	Baritone solo
17	*Stetit puella*	Latin	Strophic (2 verses)	Soprano solo
18	*Circa mea pectora*	Latin	Strophic (3 verses with refrain for the chorus)	Baritone solo and choir
19	*Si puer cum puellula*	Latin	Antiphonal (AABA)	Baritone solo and *a ccapella* Soli (3 tenors, 1 baritone, 2 basses)
20	*Veni, veni, venias*	Latin	Antiphonal (ABB with coda)	Coro doppio (double chorus)
21	*In trutina*	Latin	Strophic (2 verses of improvisatory melody)	Soprano solo
22	*Tempus est iocundum*	Latin	Strophic (5 verses alternating and beginning with chorus)	Baritone and Soprano solos, Choir and children's choir
23	*Dulcissime*	Latin	Virtuosic Codetta - Melismatic (entire movement is 4 bars)	Soprano solo
	Blanziflor et Helena			
24	*Ave formosissima*	Latin	Aabbccdd with codetta	Choir
	Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi			
25	*O Fortuna*	Latin	Strophic (identical to opening movement)	Choir

A Movement-by Movement Look at Orff's *Carmina Burana*

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
O Fortuna	Extols Fortuna's power	a pantheon of praise to the goddess Fortuna	rousing opening chorus
Fortune plango vulnera	An example of Fortuna's power in action	additive construction: each entry doubles the number of singers: first basses, then all men, then all women are combined	Despite being written in the first person, this poem is set for the full chorus; everyone can attest to the power of luck in their lives
Primo Vere		Latin title	
Veris leta facies	Spring has arrived! More than literary convention, for people of Middle Ages spring represents survival of another winter and hope and promise for continued life. Life is easier again: one can enjoy the sun.	Opens with a bird-call in the piano and xylophone parts repeated three times. Antiphonal structure: low voices (basses and altos) open, higher voices (sopranos and tenors) respond, with two chant-like phrases each.	Orff's quasi-Gregorian melody here authentically represents the satirical meaning of the Latin poem.
Omnia sol temperat		Chimes (flute this time) introduce the soloist, who is given a winding chant with minimal accompanimental forces. The monodic melody is repeated three times, each time with the intervening four chimes passage.	Notice the word-painting on the Latin word for "turn," musically a small turn itself: as if one is spinning tortuously slowly on the wheel
Ecce Gratum		Choir returns after tenor soli incipit. Music becomes louder and faster with each verse as ice melts and winter comes.	Major key associated with gaiety and brightness of spring. Note legato singing vs staccato playing in orchestra which highlights tension between winter and spring in text
Uf dem Anger		German title for macaronic poems to follow	
Tanz	textless	ever-changing meter (e.g. the first four bars have the time signatures of 2/2, 3/8, 2/8, and 4/4)	Difficult for layperson to actually dance to!
Floret Silva	Macaronic text laments the loss of a lover: third verse is in German.	Orff paints a vivid picture setting this text: the women's "Where is the lover I knew?" is answered by the men "He has ridden off!", set like a galloping horse riding off into the distance (complete with decrescendo).	Choir is divided into large and small choruses (but most productions use a subsection of the larger choir for the smaller one). Text makes strong literary connections to part III.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
Chramer, gip die varwe mir	First poem strictly in German. To make sense of using the choir for text which is said by a single woman…	…Orff has the small choir sopranos sing soli (often done as solos) followed by the large choir singing "*a bocca chiusa*" (humming), after which the sopranos in divisi are given the remainder of the text. This antiphonal pattern is again repeated three times, once for each verse.	Soprano divisi, however, is more often performed not as written but rather split between sopranos and altos: otherwise the altos would be tacit for the entire movement.
Reie	textless	Another instrumental dance, this one slow but accelerating, also in mixed meter: (2/2, 3/2, 5/2 etc.)	This movement should be viewed not as having four separate sections, with #2 repeated as #4, but rather as having a larger ABA construction with an orchestral introduction.
Swaz hie gat umbe	Completely German texts	a short and fast-tempod chorus set antiphonally between the men and women, who combine at the end.	
Chume, chum, geselle min		verses are set antiphonally between alto soli and small chorus	closer in mood to the opening instrumental section, but this reverie is immediately interrupted by…
Swaz hie gat umbe	Interesting that the text "going round and round" is set as a recapitulation (the same as before).		
Were diu werlt alle min	Final poem completely in German.	Opens with a strong 8-bar brass fanfare before the tutti chorus enters with every note accented in their first four bars. Text is set homophonically in a unison passage with a *f* dynamic.	If music always reflects the historical period which gave it birth, then perhaps the opening of this movement reflects the militaristic Germany of the mid 1930's.
	Unlike earlier ones, this movement includes no repetition of text.		
In Taberna		Latin Title again: signals return to Latin texts	
Estuans interius	Textually, the solo plays a role "in which the drunkard seems oblivious of the perilous condition of his soul."[151]	Opens with the baritone solo belligerently decrying his anger. Orff's penchant for writing for the stage become apparent, as his musical setting here is very theatrical - indeed, this movement is one of Orff's most operatic. The part is lively, composed primarily of dotted eight notes with their counterpart sixteenths.	The musical and textual contrast with the previous section could not be more apparent: the soloist's fourth leaps at the end of his phrases portrays his anger as well as musically betraying his inebriation.

[151] Erik Levi, s.v. "Carmina Burana," The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, ed. L. Macy, v. 1, p. 739.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
Olim lacus colueram	Textually the most memorable: the laments of a swan as it is roasted on the spit: "woe is me!"	For the first time the audience hears the tenor, who enters on a high A. This example of extreme vocal tessitura, frequently sung in falsetto, is set intentionally high to imitate the screams of a dying swan. Orff's separation of the verse and refrain illustrate the situation at hand: the tenor's wailing lament in a leisurely tempo represents the dying swan, whereas the brisk chorus enacts the impatience of the diners.[152]	This is the only time the services of the tenor soloist are required in the entire opus. Note also the onomatopoeiac effect of the words "*dentes fredentes*:" they visually illustrate their meaning.[153] While about death on the surface, the text also describes an atmosphere of feasting and joy experienced by the diners.
Ego sum abbas	A drunken reveller has become so inebriated that he pompously pretends to be the Abbot of Cucaniensis.[154] Fortune reappears, providing literary and thematic continuity.	Orff has set the text as a wobbly melodic line; this coupled with the textual repetition makes it seem as if the character being portrayed has become so drunk that he is unaware that he is repeating certain words. This movement is set for baritone soloist, who is joined by male chorus only for the warnings of woe ("*wafna*!") which come at the end.	"A more incongruous meeting of the worlds of church and Goliard can hardly be imagined. The Goliard revels himself as an inveterate gambler, and rather than freeing a person of his sins, the Goliard 'frees' him of his garments and money."[155] Irreverence is further noted in that fact that the Pope and King are the objects of the reveller's unceasing toasts (as opposed to their unceasing prayers).[156]
In taberna quando sumus	A child's number game	Set, appropriately, for unison male chorus.	Orff must have liked this movement, as it gives its name to the entire section. Staggered breathing is required to perform constant eighth notes continuing unabated for sixteen bars.
	Orff often omits verses of longer poems but, he has not done so here; this is the longest text of the entire work. However, because of the tempo and the fact that text is never repeated, the piece does not take any more time than other movements.		

[152] Sebesta, 62.
[153] Ibid.
[154] "Cucaniensis" was a fabled land of plenty sung about by the Goliards, comparable to "Big Rock Candy Mountain." Sebesta, 65.
[155] Ibid,. 67.
[156] Ibid., 76.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
Cour d`amours	Textually the most unified section: Orff selected the poems to tell a continuous story….	This section is also the most musically refined of the three parts to *Carmina Burana*, presenting a dramatic contrast to the bawdy material that preceded it.	The subject of courtly love perhaps explains why the title of this section is in French despite all nine of the poems therein being in Latin.
Amor volat undique		Orff gives appropriate lines to the available forces: the children play a turba/narrator role and the soprano solo laments the lack of a lover.	This movement, some 30 minutes into the performance, is the first time both the children's choir and soprano soloist have been utilized.
	The tension in the text, (between "cupid flies everywhere" and the "bitter fate" of the girl without a lover) is highlighted by the *raggazi* choir entering on sharp staccato notes despite the gentle flowing legato lines of the orchestra (as in the fifth movement).		
Dies, nox et omnia	The male is pining over his beloved from afar.	set (appropriately for the lyrics) for baritone solo.	Note the word-painting on "*planzser*" ("weep") on a high A, pushing to the extreme of the baritone range, and the melisma on "*grandey*" ("great").
Stetit puella	Textually, the lovers are closer now; it seems the male might touch her cloak	Begins with leaps of open fifths for the soprano soloist gives sense of excitement and anticipation. Orff provides these two verses with a romantic winding line, as if the girl in question is coyly seducing her suitor - or at least is considering it.	While in the poem these words are uttered by a man, Orff subverts that and gives them to the soprano soloist.[157]
Circa mea pectora	returns to the male for his perspective: He expresses his explicit desired to liberate her from the prison of her virginity.	Baritone solo sings three verses, each with a refrain sung by the chorus. With each repetition of the same melodic material, the speaker (singer) becomes more ardent and more insistent, climaxing with a *f* "*molto appassionato*" for the third verse.	The chorus material here shows Orff's imitation of Stravinsky.

[157] Sebesta, 92.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
Si puer cum puellula	Likely meant as an aside to the audience, a commentary on the state of mind of the male: this is probably why Orff sets it for a small group rather than simply soli men. Since the verbs are subjunctive, grammatically the poem does not reflect a current reality but expresses hope for a future condition.[158]	Set for baritone solo and *a capella* small male chorus (Orff specifies 3 tenors, 1 baritone and 2 basses, each of whom sings one to a part in an antiphonal double 3-part texture. The basses and baritone of the ensemble, however, are given the majority of the text: the three tenors only reiterate the words "*felix coniunctio*" ("happy is their coupling") as a refrain. The soloist sings only three brief interjections: twice he comically inserts "between them;" his final passage includes an athletic leap of a twelfth and introduces the passage "an ineffable game begins in their limbs, arms and lips." This line is then picked up by the baritones, musically illustration the spreading of the ineffable game.	This is the only movement sung without any accompaniment whatsoever. This movement and the next are the only two occasions in the entire work for which Orff creates an explicitly different ensemble. Prudery aside, this text is the most pornographic in *Carmina Burana*: the prefix "sus" meaning "from beneath" in the line "*amore suscrescente*" ("Love rises up") does imply that love rises up between them from below, and is an obvious phallic allusion.
Veni, veni, venias	Orff's setting of this text for chorus (when the speaker is really an individual) implies that both the boy and girl are feeling the same way at this point.	First and only movement for double choir: a brief setting (approximately 60 seconds) with antiphonal effects being batted back and forth between the two choirs (showing further Stravinskian influences)	The choir, in addition to being divided in half is split into 6 parts each, for a total of 12 parts: divisi occurs in both the sopranos and tenor lines, usually moving in parallel thirds. "*nazaza trillirivos*" is a musical expletive in the same vein as "folleroo, folleroo/zoom zoom zoom zoom tra la la!"[159] It would also have similar innuendo to "fa la la" in Renaissance music.

[158] Ibid., 103.
[159] "*The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana*" translated by E. D Blodgett and Roy Arthur Swanson (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), 272.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
In trutina	However, the girl is not yet completely sure… in an emotional soliloquy she admits she is waffling, but her feelings lead her to think she should try it.	Orff's "wandering" setting of this text reflects well the sense of hesitation one experiences in making a momentous decision; as the soprano soloist enters, she wavers between two notes a minor third apart, as if giving two options equal weight.	One of the most moving solos of the entire work. For women in the Middle Ages, "submission" meant much more than giving in to one's feelings: it was also a literal submission, as once a maiden had selected a suitor and consented to be his wife, she legally became for all intents and purposes his property.
Tempus est iocundum	The two lovers have fallen in love - no more objections remain.	The full chorus enters at a *f* dynamic with the refrain. Five verses are sung by the women and men in alteration, joining together for the final refrain. Each verse is introduced by a soloist - baritone or the soprano singing with the children's choir - except on the last when the verse is introduced by everyone except the soprano soloist.	The largest movement in the entire opus. The jubilant setting calls for almost the entire assembled forces: soprano and baritone (but not the tenor) soloists, children's and full choirs.
Dulcissime	The female finally and completely accedes to her suitor's request; she has fallen in love. An aria-in-miniature.	Sung entirely by the soprano soloist, it is essentially one big long melisma. The soloist is required to sing an ascending leap of a ninth, and to follow this up with singing a high D later in the melody, the highest note of the entire opus.	The demands made on the soloist, due to the extreme upper tessitura in which it is set, are surprisingly high for a movement that is only four bars long. This moment represents the climax of the third part and also the entire work.
Blanziflor et Helena	"Blanchefleur, to give the French spelling of her name, was the daughter of a Christian slave. She was raised from childhood with Flore, the son of the King of Spain…. At age 15, while Flore was away, Blanchefleur was sold to a slave merchant. When Flore heard of this, he set out to find her and traced her to the harem of an emir of Babylon. Though Flore was discovered and caught before he could save her, the judges, before whom the lovers were brought, were touched by their loyalty. They allowed the two to marry and return to Spain, where Flore converted all his people to Christianity." Helen of Troy, "the face that launched a thousand ships," was originally the wife of King Menelaus of Sparta who willingly absconded with Paris and precipitated the Trojan war.[160]		

[160] Sebesta, 124.

Title	Textual Comments	Musical Comments	Other
Ave formosissima	Because this section perpetuates the same stream of thought as the previous section devoted to love, it rightly belongs to the previous part: however, it is given its own section because it also marks the transition back to the overarching structure and protagonist of the entire opus: overall, *Carmina Burana* is about luck, not love.	As a compliment to movement #20, this movement is scored for six-part chorus, except this time the divisi is in the altos and basses.	Any Goliardic hymn which commences with an "Ave" must be read as a parody of Ave Maria or any one of its other possible substitutes.[161] Here, however, it is Venus, the goddess of Love who is praised in a rousing conclusion to Part III.
Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi			
O Fortuna	Identical (word for word and note for note) to opening movement	Concluding the work with the same piece as that with which it began musically illustrates the subject of the entire collection: the fickle wheel of Fortune.	A memorable conclusion to a stirring work: Orff literally brings the whole song cycle full circle and provids two identical bookends for the work.

[161] E.g., "Ave dulcissima Maria," "Ave Maria Stella," or "Ave Regina Coelorum". Sebesta, 124.

Appendix D: Biblical Allusions in the Text of *Carmina Burana*

As the original *Carmina Burana* codex was authored by the Goliards, one would not be surprised to find a great many of Biblical allusions; however, because this list addresses only the Biblical allusions found in the 24 different poems that Orff chose to set to music, and because his selections were intentionally secular, the number of Biblical allusions and references presented here is undoubtedly significantly reduced from the total number one would find in the original collection of over 200 medieval poems.

Movement Number	Movement Title	Applicable Text	Location Of Text (see Appendix B)	Biblical Reference Or Allusion
1	O Fortuna (O Fortune)	O Fortuna…	Opening line of entire work	Isaiah 65:11
		…I bring my bare back to your villainy.	Closing lines of second stanza	Isaiah 50:6
		…You whirling wheel…	Line 3 of stanza 2	Ezekiel 10:13
10	Were diu werlt alle min (Were all the world mine)	Were all the world mine From the Sea to the Rhine…	Opening 2 lines	Psalm 50:12
11	Estuans interius (Burning Inside)	If it is the way Of the wise man To build Foundations on stone…	Opening lines of second stanza	Matthew 7:24
		I am carried along Like a ship without a steersman…	Opening lines of third stanza	James 3:4
14	In taberna quando sumus (When we are in the tavern)	…may their names not be written in the Book of the Righteous.	Concluding lines of entire movement	Psalm 69:28
17	Stetit puella (A girl stood)	…In a red tunic; if anyone touched it…	Lines 2-3 of first stanza	Matthew 9:20; Mark 5:27
20	Veni, veni, venias (Come, come, O come)	Redder than the rose, Whiter than the lily…	Opening lines of final stanza	Song of Solomon 2:1

Appendix E: The Evidence Against

To be fair, any consideration of possible anti-Nazi elements in *Carmina Burana* should also point out instances which weaken its case. Of these there are several, most coming from the poems that Orff did not choose to include in his musical setting. For example, the Latin codex concludes with a longer story entitled "The Holy Gospel According to the Silver Mark." "This is more than a bold madcap parody. It serves as a weapon in the moral-satirical struggle against corruption among the upper clergy, against simony and the worship of material things."[162] Likely, however, its extended length warranted against its inclusion. Orff also chose not to include "*die Christi Veritas*," which includes the lines excerpted below:

die Christi Veritas	O truth of Christ
die cara raritas	O most dear rarity
die rara caritas	O most rare charity
ubi nunc habitas?	Where dwell'st thou now?
aut in valle Visionis,	In the valley of Vision?
aut in throno Pharaonis,	On Pharaoh's throne?
aut in alto cum Nerone,	On high with Nero?
.....	.....
Veritas opprimatur,	Truth stands oppressed,
distrahitur et venditur	Torn asunder and sold,
Iustitua prostante,	While Justice sells her body in the street.
.....	.....
respondit Caritas;	Then Love replied,
homo, quid dubitas,	"Man, wherefore didst thou doubt?"
quid me sollicitas?	Not where thou wast wont to find
nec in euro nec in austro	My dwelling in the southern wind;
nec in foro nec in austro	Not in court and not in cloister,
nec in bysso nec in cuculla,	Not in casque nor yet in cowl,
nec in bello nec in bulla,	Not in battle nor in Bull,
de Iericho sum veniens,	But on the road from Jericho
ploro cum sauciato,	I come with a wounded man."
quem duplex Levi transiens	
non astitit grabato.[163]	

[162] Zeydel, 25.
[163] Carmina Burana 93, written by Phillippe de Greve (1180-1236).

Another poem that might seem to be particularly relevant again to Orff's contemporary situation is the "Crusader's Song:"

> They have crucified their Lord afresh
> Upon another cross.
> His wounds are new again.
> The Tree of Life is lost...[164]

While many Christians identify with those being oppressed as similar to the experience of crucifixion, one reason this poem may not have been included is that the "they" here refers to the Jews. Orff may have wanted to avoid any interpretation which could have led to further persecution.

A better reason for not including all of these poems, however, despite their obvious relevance to Orff's contemporary situation, is that they are sacred. That simple fact, regardless of how they may or may not have fit into Orff's pre-conceived subversive political sub-structure, would have prevented them from becoming part of an explicitly secular cantata.

There is only one instance of a secular text not included by Orff which would have contained subtle anti-Nazi political interpretations. The third poem of the Codex Buranus is "*Ecce Torpet Probitas*," which Orff did not set:

Ecce torpet probitas	Look around you - integrity is in a coma,
virtus sepelitur;	Virtue dead and buried.
fir iam parca largitas,	Generosity has discovered the use of thrift,
verum dicit falsitas	Deceit speaks truth
veritas mentitur.	And truth deceives.
Omnes iura ledunt	All break laws
et ad res illicitas	And proceed
licite recedunt.	To legalised criminality.

[164] "Crucifigat onmes/Domini crux altera,/ nova Christi vulnera!/arbor salutifera perditur..." Ibid. Ellipse in original Latin text.

Regnat avaritia	Greed is king
regnant et avari	and the greedy, kings.
mente quivis anxia	Everyone's preoccupied with the competition
nititur ditari,	to get-rich-quick
cum sit summa gloria	(as if all glory, laud, and honour
censu gloriari.	were pounds, shillings, and pence),
Omnes iura ledunt	All break laws
et ad prava quelibet	and proceed
impie recedunt.	to universal depravation.

"Ecce Torpet Probitas" is a secular poem which would have had obvious contemporary relevance to Orff, but which for some reason he chose not to set to music. To assert that he actually wanted to but ran out of time or was getting concerned about the overall length of the work is sheer speculation. That Orff thought his anti-Nazi sentiments were already becoming too numerous and too overt is also a possibility, but doubtful.

Appendix F: Epilogue: Some possibilities for Further Study

To admit it, to assert that Carl Orff intentionally and knowingly included subversive political statements into *Carmina Burana* is likely picking favourites: one should therefore be able to discover similar elements in Orff's other works as well. More study would be required to see if similar cases could be made for Orff's other works, particularly those composed during the late 1930's and early 1940's while the Nazis were in power. Interestingly, Orff's compositional output seems to have decreased significantly during the Nazi regime, which may or may not signify something in itself; naturally, it goes without saying that one would not expect to find anti-Nazi messages in anything Orff composed after 1945.

The list of Orff's compositions written while the Nazis were in power is surprisingly small, comprised of only four major works: *Carmina Burana*, composed 1935-6, premièred in Frankfurt, on June 8, 1937; *Der Mond*, composed 1936–8, premièred in Munich, on February 5, 1939 (revised in 1970); *Die Kluge: die Geschichte von dem König und der klugen Frau*, composed 1941–2, premièred in Frankfurt on 20 February 20, 1943; and *Catulli Carmina*, composed 1941–3, premièred in Leipzig on November 6, 1943.[165]

A brief explanation of how each of these other three compositions might fit into a similar inquiry is in order. *Der Mond*, to a text by the Brothers Grimm, is an escapist fairy tale, a yearning for something better, while also, being based in the underworld,

[165] There was only one other major opus that Orff worked on during the Nazi period: *Antigonae* was begun in 1941 while the Nazis were in power, but was under constant revision until its completion in 1949. One could also mention *Cantata*, a work using texts by known Nazi opponent Bertold Brecht which was first composed in 1930–31, but this work too was significantly revised in 1968–73. Thus there are only four work that Orff begun and completed while the Nazis were in power.

might reveal something about Orff's pessimistic view of the situation in 1938-9 (his later setting of Orpheus reveals an almost morbid fascination for chthonic texts). *Die Kluge* ran into trouble with the Nazi censors as it "contains a barely concealed attack against authoritarianism in the brutally satirical portrayal of the King."[166] Assuming his successful inclusion of subversive political statements in *Carmina Burana*, Orff may have been feeling emboldened by this point, but as he encountered bureaucratic difficulties his enthusiasm for including subversive political statements would surely have significantly decreased. Thus *Catulli Carmina* may present the most difficulty to this line of thinking: it is a love story, pure and simple, and written as the second part of Orff's major trilogy. However, it does use the same foreign and archaic language that upset the Nazis in *Carmina Burana*, which shows that even when the Nazis were at the height of their power, Orff was unrepentant and refused to condescend to anyone else's artistic demands or desires.

When asked about his penchant for ancient poetic texts, Orff replied "I do not feel them as old, but rather as valid. The timely element disappears, and only the spiritual powers remain. My entire interest is in the expression of spiritual realities." He obviously meant "spiritual" in its most inclusive sense, because Orff composed almost exclusively for the theatre or the school; his works were never intended for church or liturgical use. At least as far as *Carmina Burana* is concerned, Orff consistently selected the most secular of the available texts (as per his subtitle). Elsewhere Orff confirmed: "I wrote for the theatre in order to convey a spiritual attitude."[167] It seems a lofty goal

[166] Levi, 66.
[167] Compare also Orff's statement that "in all my work, my final concern is not with musical but with spiritual exposition." Quoted by Liesse, 31.

indeed if Orff intended to convey a "spiritual attitude" through his use of barbaric rhythms and secular texts. The unifying element, however, of all three works of Orff's trilogy is, in a word, love. Perhaps Orff through *Trionfi* offers the world a heavily veiled plea for, if not universal brotherhood and sisterhood, perhaps at least some understanding and tolerance.

Annotated Bibliography

General Reference

Cohn, Arthur. *Recorded Classical Music: A Critical Guide to Compositions and Performances.* New York: MacMillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1981.

Cohn handily provides a review of at least one recording of all of the major works of classical music, organized alphabetically by composer. U of A Library Call Number ML 156.9 C67 1981.

Ewen, David, ed. *Composers Since 1900: A Biographical and Critical Guide.* New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1969.

Ewen's music dictionary of composers is interesting particularly for its date of publication; Orff's lengthy entry runs from p. 394-398. U of A Library Call Number ML 390 E938.

Garretson, Robert L. *Choral Music: History, Style, and Performance Practice.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1993.

Garretson's comprehensive overview of the history of choral music is informative and well-organized; sadly, it suffers from a lack of good editing (for example, of only six complete sentences on p. 28 for example, two - in consecutive paragraphs - are identical). Perhaps surprising, Orff is granted only a passing reference, and Carmina Burana is not mentioned by name at all. U of A Library Call Number ML 1500 G239 1993.

Whittall, Arnold. *Music Since the First World War.* London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1977.

It is fascinating how a book written after the second world war (hence the title) can freely discuss composers such as Schoenberg, Wiell, and Hindemith without mention of the dramatic effect that Nazism had on their lives and careers. Also surprising is that Orff does not even merit a single mention in this entire publication. U of A Library Call Number ML 197 W62 1977.

Carl Orff

Liesse, Andreas. *Carl Orff.* Translated by Adelheid and Herbert Parkin. London: Calder and Boyars, 1966.

A book written with Orff's permission on the specific condition that the author discuss only his musical works and not biographical details about his life, Liesse proceeds to discuss with sweeping strokes the general character of the whole of Orff's oeuvre without delving into too much specifying detail or precise explanations. After a rambling discussion of the spiritual dimension of Orff's work which was something less than coherently organized, Liesse proceeds to a survey of Orff's work to date, discussing each piece in turn (including enumerating the specific orchestrations). U of A Library Call Number ML 410 O67 L71.

Orff, Carl. *Carl Orff: Documentation, His Life and Works.* New York: Schott Music Corp., 1978.

Carl Orff reportedly spent the last several years of his life working on this comprehensive eight-volume set of his memoirs. Short articles on various aspects of his life work are interspersed with copious amounts of photographs, maps, score excerpts, programs, diagrams, and other memorabilia. Volume IV addresses Carmina Burana. Orff is consistent throughout this multi-volume work, and while the supporting documentation he provides is interesting and illustrative, the additional information he provides is minimal.

Orff, Carl. *The Schulwerk.* Translated by Margaret Murray. Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1976.

This single volume is a page-by-page translation (complete with all photographs and scores) of volume III of Orff's 8-volume autobiographical account. It is not known if the other seven volumes are also available in English, whether by the same translator or not. U of A Library Call Number ML 410 O67 A4 E5 1976.

Sebesta, Judith Lynn. *Carl Orff: Carmina Burana.* Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, Inc., 1996.

As the cover page informs, Sebesta has provided the original text with opposing translation and word explanations, Latin glossary and vocabularies, an introduction and short helpful expository essays on each individual poem of the 24 carmina that Orff selected to musically set. An appendix of a separate "literary" (rhyming) translation by Jeffery M. Dublan is also included in the back, as well as illustrations by Thom Kapheim. While definitely providing excellent background to the literary sources of Orff's composition and, unique among publications on the literary sources of Carmina Burana, veritably structured towards discussing the musical composition, readers should be warned that the book is intended mostly to be a didactic resource for language, not music, students. This book is unfortunately not included in any NEOS library holding.

Schmidt, Hugo Wolfram. *Carl Orff: Sein Leben und sein werk in Wort, Bild und Noten.* Köln: Wienand Verlag, 1971.

A beautifully illustrated book that chronologically examines every one of Orff's major compositions. U of A Library Call Number ML 410 O67 S35 1971.

Schäfer, W.E., K. H. Ruppel, Gustav Rudolf Sellner, and Werner Thomas. *Carl Orff: A Report in Words and Pictures.* Mainz: B. Schotts Sohne, 1960.

A collection of 4 different essays written during Orff's lifetime attempting to explain to the world the history behind the new celebrity composer of *Carmina Burana.* An introduction, biography, chronology and discussion of his works to date, exposition on his *Schulwerk*, and a collection of relevant photographs (mostly of set designs, costumes and various productions) are included. U of A Library Call Number ML 410 O67 1960.

Greek Mythology

Graves, Robert. *The Greek Myths.* With an introduction by Kenneth McLeish and illustrations by Grahame Baker. London: The Folio Society, 1946.

Grave's two-volume publication is viewed by some as the definitive work on the subject - he includes not only conflicting accounts of the same story but also his own historical analysis of to what extent each report can believed to be factual.

Hamilton, Edith. *Mythology.* Illustrated by Steele Savage. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1942.

Hamilton's highly-readable style is exhaustive and through while making every story accessible for the reader. Her lucid prose is detailed yet she still maintains an excellent sense of flow from one account to the next - highly recommended.

National Socialism

Abella, Irving and Harold Troper. *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948.* Toronto: Lester Publishing Ltd., 1983.

Irving and Troper's exposé account of Canada's racist and Anti-Semitist immigration policies during and immediately after the second world war is unmatched for its bold assertions and no-nonsense approach to revealing the truth of Canada's embarrassing and shameful complicity in the Holocaust. U of A Library Call Number D 810 J4 A12 1982.

Bessel, Richard, ed. L*ife in the Third Reich.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

A compilation of 8 essays by different authors each chronicling a different aspect of life in Nazi Germany, including violence, youth, and the policies of Anti-Semitism. U of A Library Call Number DD 256.5 L723 1989.

Bullock, Alan. *Hitler, A Study in Tyranny.* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962.

An extensive (800 page) look at Hitler's rise to and fall from power. U of A Library Call Number DD 247 H5 B93 1962.

Ferguson, Will. *Bastards and Boneheads: Canada's Glorious Leaders Past and Present.* Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1999.

Ferguson's historical and humorous approach to Canada's former heads of state contains valuable information on Canada's reaction to the Holocaust and its Anti-Semitic immigration policies during the Second World War. Canada's regulations against Jewish immigration, shamefully, were "probably the most stringent in the world" (p. 169). U of A Library Call Number FC 25 F47 1999.

Lee, Stephen J. *Hitler and Nazi Germany.* New York: Routledge, 1998.

Gives an excellent brief overview of Hitler's rise to power and the history of Nazi Germany, organized as a course, complete with source studies and questions at the end of each chapter.

Mosse, George L. *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural, and Social Life in the Third Reich.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1966.

A collection of translated documents written by German contemporise addressing such varied topics as the role of women in the home, the essential German element in German art, academic freedom, and the societal effect of the Hitler Youth Party on local adolescents. U of A Library Call Number DD 256.5 M913.

Schiff, Hilda ed. *Holocaust Poetry.* New York: St. Martin's Griffen, 1995.

An incredibly moving compilation of poetry written before, during, and after the Second World War expressing the most potent emotions known to humankind, by survivors and some who did not survive the Holocaust. Highly recommended.

Shirer, William L. *The Rise and Fall of Adolf Hitler.* New York: Random House, 1961.

Shirer's well-known account chronicling Hitler's political and military career is popular not only for its thoroughness but also its accessibility and brevity. U of A Library Call Number DD 247 H5 S55.

Audio Visual Materials

Auschwitz... Never Again. n.p: Sim-Pac Educational Media, 1984.

VHS tape, 37 min long, which is basically a narrated slide show of Holocaust and present-day pictures of the same sites from three major concentration/death camps: Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Majdanek. U of A Library Call Number D 805 P7 A932 1985.

The Nazi Holocaust. Mount Dora, Florida: Documentary Photo Aids Inc, n.d.

A picture series with teacher's guide containing 44 graphic and gut-wrenching photos of German atrocities in the Second World War, each with commentary at the bottom. U of A Library Call Number D 810 J4 N33.

They Were Not Silent: The Jewish Labour Movement. n.p.: The Cinema Guild, n.d.

A 30-minute VHS video detailing the efforts of the American Jewish Labour Movement to rescue Jews from Europe and the Holocaust in the Second World War. U of A Library Call Number D 804.45 U6 T49 1998.

The Medieval Document Carmina Burana

Buschor, Ernst. *Carmina Burana: Benediktbeurer Lieder.* Frankfurt-am-Main: Insel-Verlag, 1964.

Buschor supplies an afterword, index, and German translation for the complete *Carmina Burana*, but this text will not be useful to people who do not speak fluent German. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1956.

Cantos de Goliardo (Carmina Burana). With a prologue by Carlos Yarza. Translations by Lluis Moles. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1978.

Translation provided of 40 *Carmina Burana* poems into Spanish. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1978.

Carmina Burana. With a foreword by Wilhelm Meyers. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 1961.

Chronology and extensive notes, done poem-by-poem, on the translations of the work into German. Very densely written and typeset, this work would represent a challenging read to even fluent German speakers. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1974.

Carmina Burana: Die Gedichte des Codex Buranus Lateinisch und Deutsch. Müchen: Artemis Verlag, 1974.

The entire codex is provided in the original and translated line-by-line into German, with a commentary on particular translation problems included at the end. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1975.

Carmina Burana: Die Lieder der Benediktbeuern Handschrift in vollständiger deutscher Übertragung. München: Winkler Verlag, 1975.

The complete collection, published with German translation and footnoted (in German). U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1947.

Carmina Burana: Lateinisch - deutsch; Gesemtausgabe der mittelalterlichen melodien mit den dazugehörigen texten. Müchen: Heimeran Verlag, 1979.

Offers a complete rendition of the 43 poems of *Carmina Burana* which had music set to them and modern musical notation for what those songs sounded like. A translation into German is also provided. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 C28 1847.

Carmina Burana: Lateinische und Deutsche Lieder und Gedichte. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1966.

After a German introduction, all 228 poems of the original are given in the original Latin without commentary. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1961.

Carmina Burana: Lieder der Vaganten (Lateinisch und Deutsch). Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schnieder, 1974.

This publication was noted to be of somewhat less usefulness than others in this section due to its lack of a catalogue of the origins of the poems. Poems are included by title only, with no reference to the order in which they originally appeared. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C28 1961.

Lehtonen, Tuomas M. S. *Fortuna, Money, and the Sublunar World: Twelfth century Ethical poetics and the Satirical Poetry of the Carmina Burana.* Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995.

Representing the most modern scholarship available on the medieval Carmina Burana manuscript, Lehtonen's discussion includes overviews the of history of the scholarship surrounding this important Latin codex. Unfortunately, the index included at the back is not always completely reliable. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 C2835 1995.

The Love Songs of the Carmina Burana. Translated by E. D. Blodgett and Roy Arthur Swanson. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987.

After brief articles on the history of the manuscript and the history of representative translations of *Carmina Burana* (mostly their various renderings into rhyming English), the love poems of *Carmina Burana* are presented in English only, with extensive endnotes included on textual translation issues at the back. It should further be mentioned that Blodgett is (or at least was, at the time of writing) an Edmontonian. U of A Library Call Number PA 8164 C262 E5 1987.

Symonds, John Addington. *Wine, Women, and Song: Mediaeval Latin Students' Songs Now First Translated into English Verse.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1931.

Selected mediaeval poems, several from *Carmina Burana*, are given a brief introduction and then rendered in English. Unfortunately, the original Latin is not included. Further, as the English translations given are forced into rhyme and rhythm schemes that may or may not be related to the original, the reliability of the translations in any more than a general sense must be suspect. U of A Library Call Number PA 8164 S98 1925.

Vagabond Verse: Secular Latin Poems of the Middle Ages. Translated with an introduction and commentary by Edwin H. Zeydel. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966.

Providing translations and commentary (as well as the Latin originals) for a variety of mediaeval poems (nine of which were also set by Orff), Zeydel sets out (explicitly and intentionally, as he states in the introduction) to improve on the weaknesses of the earlier ground-breaking publications of Symonds and Waddell. His most glaring omission is the lack of an index. U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 V12 1966.

Waddell, Helen. *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics.* London: Constable and Co Ltd., 1929.

Waddell supplies without comment the English translation of several ancient texts. The manuscript of Benedictbeuern is discussed from pages 185 - 273 and 341-5. U of A Library Call Number PA 8122 W11 1929; see also PA 8122 M48 1952.

_____. *Songs of the Wandering Scholars.* Edited and with a preface by Dame Felicitas Corrigan. London: The Folio Society, 1982.

Somewhat surprisingly, this publication is not a reprint or revision of the following entry, even given the same author and similar titles. While certainly encompassing a much broader scope than just the one document, near the end several poems from the *Carmina Burana* are included and translated. U of A Library Call Number PA 806558 W115 1982.

_____. *The Wandering Scholars.* London: Constable and Company, Ltd, 1966.

Again, the scope of this publication is very large, but the book gives some very good background on *Carmina Burana* and related poems (e.g., other documents where poems also found in the *Carmina Burana* have been found). U of A Library Call Number PA 8065 S8 W3 1932.

Walsh, P. G. *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Walsh examines the love poems from *Carmina Burana* line-by-line, providing his own translation to English and commenting on Latin puns, allusions, and explanations. Her approach is very useful to anyone studying *Carmina Burana*: it is only too bad she does not include the entirety of the medieval text but rather restricts herself to only the love poems. U of A Library Call Number PA 8184 C3 E5 1993.

Whicher, George F. *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires.* New York: New Directions Publishing Corporation, 1949.

Whicher provides English translation for an assorted collection of medieval Latin poetry, including some of the many poems from *the Carmina Burana.* U of A Library Call Number PA 8133 S8 G62 1965.

Music in Nazi Germany

Brinkman, Reinhold and Christoff Wolff. *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States.* Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1999.

A collection of fifteen articles by different authors dealing with individual case studies (Wolpe, Alfred Einstein, Wiell, Krenek, and particularly Schoenberg) and the situation at large (e.g. documentation of European musical migration in the New York Times"). Unfortunately this erudite work was not of much relevance to the present study, as Orff was not amongst those to leave Nazi Germany. U of A Library Call Number ML 198.5 D75 1999.

Decoste, F. C and Bernard Schwartz, eds. *The Holocaust's Ghost: Writings on Art, Politics, Law, and Education.* Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2000.

While many excellent articles on art during the Nazi regime are contained therein (as well as several other contributions, interesting but irrelevant to this study), Michael Kater's on music in Nazi Germany was the most helpful. Unfortunately but unsurprisingly, it seemed to merely be a distillation of his two earlier monographs (see below). U of A Library Call Number D 804.18 H64 2000.

Kater, Michael H. *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Kater's 30-page chapter devoted strictly to Carl Orff in Nazi Germany is by far the most information about the subject collected into one volume to date. His knowledge of the history of the reception of Orff's music and the controversy surrounding Orff's post-war reputation is frankly unparalleled. This monograph was quintessential reading for this study. U of A Library Call Number ML 390 K198 2000.

_____. *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Among the most recent publications on the subject in general , Kater points out the deficiencies of Levi, Meyer, and Wulf (see below) in his preface and goes on to give likely the most thorough treatment of the subject made in English to date, discussing frankly the musical careers of such luminaries as Orff, Karajan, Schwarzkopf, Schoenberg, Hindemith, and Webern. His only glaring omission is a lack of bibliography. U of A Library Call Number ML 275.5 K38 1997.

Levi, Erik. *Music in the Third Reich.* New York: St Martin's Press, 1994.

Densely written and chock full of fact, names, and place names, Levi's account of the music scene in Nazi Germany is comprehensive and thorough, yet ultimately not as informative as Kater's later publication. U of A Library Call Number ML 275.5 L49 1994.

Meyer. Michael. *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1993.

Meyer chronicles the development of censorship and government control of music in the Nazi regime in sometimes painstaking detail. U of A Library Call Number ML 275.5 M613 1993.

Reinert, Kathy. *Music and the Nazi Party Congresses: Its Role in Spectacle, Festival, and Ritual.* M. Music dissertation, University of Alberta, 1997.

While unfortunately there is only the most minimal amount of overlap between Reinert's study and this one, this paper does provide a lot of information about what purposes music was made to serve by the Nazi party as well as an excellent background to the general music situation of the time.

Spotts, Frederic. *Hitler and the Power of Aesthetics.* New York: The Overlook Press, Peter Mayer Publishers, 2003.

Representing the latest scholarly evidence to come to light and the culmination of over 50 years of scholarly research into Hitler biography, Spotts' approach is nonetheless novel in that he treats Hitler (with a surprising amount of corroborating testimony and proof) as a reluctant dictator who would have preferred to be an artist (as Hitler himself is reported to have said on numerous occasions). As of August, 2003, this book was not yet available in the NEOS library system.

Steinweis, Alan E. *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theatre, and the Visual Arts.* Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Steinweis' broad discussion of the economic conditions of artists of all stripes during the Wiemar republic and afterward is as comprehensive as his scholarship is impressive. U of A Library Call Number NX 550 A1 S823 1993.

West, Shirer. *The Visual Arts in Germany, 1890 - 1937: Utopia and Despair.* New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.

While not addressing music per se, West does give very helpful background information on the Nazi position on art in general in her last chapter of the book. U of A Library Call Number NX 550 A1 W48 2000.

Wulf, Joseph. *Musik im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation.* Gütersloh: Sigbert Mohn Verlag, 1963.

Wulf's early ground-breaking study set the first precedent for a musicological approach to German music under the Nazis. While Carl Orff is mentioned, it is only in passing: no reference to *Carmina Burana* is made. U of A Library Call Number 275.5 W96.

Personal correspondences

Michael H. Kater, Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus of History, The Canadian Centre for German and European Studies, York University, Toronto, Ontario. Email communication from May 12 to May 16, 2003.

Dr. Kater is amazingly prompt to respond to specific questions - the amount of information he has at his fingertips is frankly staggering - and was an invaluable assistance in answering questions that were not quite addressed in his two books cited above, as well as providing numerous suggestions for further reading.

Selected Recordings

Carl Orff. *Carmina Burana.* Berlin: Phillips Classics Productions, 1988. Edita Gruberova, soprano, John Aler, tenor, Thomas Hampson, baritone, Shinukai Choir, Chorus Master Shin Sekyia, Knabenchor des Staats-und Domchores Berlin, Chorus Master Christian Grube, Berliner Philharmoniker, conducted by Seiji Ozawa. 422 363-2.

One of the best recordings available on the market, Ozawa's performance is lively and piercing, retaining large elements of excitement and surprise even after multiple hearings. The liberties he chooses to take, for example sense of rubato, are not distracting but on the contrary, rather electrifying. An excellent recording by excellent musicians. U of A Library Call Number M 1530 O67 C28 1989.

Carl Orff. *Carmina Burana.* Cleveland, Ohio: Telarc Recordings, 1981. Judith Blegen, soprano, Hakan Hagegard, baritone, William Brown, tenor, Atlanta Boy Choir, Atlanta Symphony Orchestra and Chorus, Robert Shaw, conductor. Recorded in Symphony Hall, Atlanta Memorial Arts Center, November 1980. CD-80056.

The soloists in this recording do a very fine job, with Hagegard being particularly clean and expressive. In fact, the whole recording seems to me to be extremely well polished, to the point of being antiseptic. It seems to lack a bit of the raw edge and power modern audiences have come to expect of performances of *Carmina Burana.* U of A Library Call Number M 1530 O67 C28 1981.

Carl Orff. *Carmina Burana.* Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophone, 1968. Gundula Janowitz, soprano, Gerhard Stolze, tenor, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, baritone, Chor und orchester der Deutsche Oper Berlin, Chorus Master Walter Hagen-Groll, Schöneberger Sängerknaben, Eugene Jochum, conductor. 447 437-2.

It's tough to argue with the composer's authorized recording. Fischer-Dieskau's singing is practically unmatched, and this remastering of the 1968 vinyl recording losses none of the original vitality or Jochum's superb control of the Berlin Opera choir and orchestra. While the choir may have a bit more vibrato than other recordings (and the sopranos are surprisingly communally imprecise with their high C at the end of "Were diu werlt alle min"), the energy of this performance constistently provides listeners with a lively and vibrant recording. Concordia University Library Call Number M 1530 O67 C3 1982.

Carl Orff. *Carmina Burana.* London: EMI Recordings, 1975. Sheila Armstrong, soprano, Gerald English, tenor, Thomas Allen, Baritone, St. Clement Danes Grammar School Boys` Choir, Chorus Director Audrey Clifford, London Symphony Orchestra Chorus, Chorus Master Arthur Oldham, London Symphony Orchestra, conducted by André Previn. Recorded September 1974 in Kingsway Hall in London. CDC 7 474112.

Technically refined performance where the instrumentalists seem to do a better job than the singers: singing seems a bit edgy, and not in a good way. Previn's tempos strike me as being consistently on the slow side, removing a lot of the sense of excitement and energy with which Carmina Burana is imbued and indeed has come to symbolize (compare Previn's time of 62:38 to record what Jochum takes 56:17 to do). Thus, while being note-perfect, this recording still strikes me as being somewhat impotent. U of A Library Call Number M 1530 O67 C28 1986.

Carl Orff. *Catulli Carmina, Trionfo de Afrodite.* Munich: EMI Classics, 1995. Dagmar Schellenberger, soprano, Lothar Odinius, tenor, Lisa Larson, soprano, Robert Swenson, tenor, Alfred Reiter, bass, Mozart-Chor Linz, Baldwin Sulzer, Chorus Master, Münicher Rundfunkoirchester, Franz Welser-Möst, conductor. 5 55517 2.

Despite both of these composition being later additions to the trilogy (and it being a bit unclear as to what extent *Carmina Burana* was composed intentionally from the beginning as the first part of a trilogy or whether in fact this may have been an afterthought, perhaps partly due to its success and the relative failure of the latter two productions), familiarity with the entirety of Orff infamous trilogy can only be beneficial to understanding the composer's *oeuvre* as a whole. These works show Orff's same characteristic traits: repetitive phrasing, simple diatonic melodies, relentless ostinatos, and a unique primacy given to rhythm and percussion, resulting in energetic and entertaining performances. U of A Library Call Number M 3.1 O67 W45 1995.

Carmina Burana, Volume I. London: Decca Record Company, Ltd., 1987. New London Consort, Philip Pickett, conductor. 417 373-2.

Carmina Burana, Volume II. London: Decca Record Company, Ltd., 1987. New London Consort, Philip Pickett, conductor. 421 062-2.

As one of the only available recordings of the original medieval songs that are included in the *Codex Buranus*, this set of two CD's is of immense historical and educational value. It soon becomes obvious that Orff music is completely unrelated to the original settings of these texts (despite some intriguing similarities in both versions of "*Tempus est iocundum*"), but the impressive amount of energy and vitality that these performers put into this recording is obvious. U of A Library Call Numbers M 2 C287 1987 v. 1 and M 2 C287 1987 v. 2.

Selected Internet Resources

N.B. Websites are not the most reliable source of information, and also can change locations without notice. This list intentionally restricts itself to site that are primarily in English: these sites were last verified on August 27, 2003.

http://members.ozemail.com.au/~caveman/Carmina/

Labelling itself as "the definitive website," this fairly large site maintained by Charles Cave from Australia includes information about *Carmina Burana*, a short biography of Orff (including a picture of the postage stamp issued by the German government in his honour), an impressive list of links to reviews of several performances, the history of its first performance and movies in which it has been used, as well as links to the Schott, its publisher. Highly recommended.

http://www.anthea2.freeuk.com/carminaburana/

An interesting site which provides *Carmina Burana* in downloadable MIDI files and plenty of medieval manuscripts as atmospheric illustrations.

http://www.auburn.edu/~downejm/sp/rabfw/carmina.htm

An interesting site on *Carmina Burana* because it is oriented towards more the the medieval codex: Orff's "opera" is mentioned only in passing. Sub-pages are included about the Goliard poets, recorded performances of the original *Carmina Burana* songs, and information about the authors of the poetry where they have been individually identified.

http://www.sungwh.freeserve.co.uk/music/carmina.htm

http://www.musikarchiv-online.de/klassik/komp/orff/carmina.htm

Both of these pages are single unrelated pages, each with the complete lyrics to Orff's *Carmina Burana* without any translation.

http://www-astro.physics.ox.ac.uk/~rejs/carmlyr.html

Provides the complete lyrics to Carmina Burana with an English translation.

http://w3.rz-berlin.mpg.de/cmp/orff.html

Provides a single page of information about Carl Orff, including a picture.

http://www.malaspina.com/site/person_902.asp

Provides a brief overview of Orff's life and compositions.